

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Memorandum

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P)

DATE: 5/25/68

FROM : SA PAUL G. TAYLOR

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY
DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany 5/10/68, copies to all offices.

On the basis of developments to date it is apparent that New Left organizations and activities in the Phoenix metropolitan area have received their inspiration and leadership almost exclusively from the members of the faculty in the Department of Philosophy at Arizona State University (ASU), chiefly [redacted]. The most logical targets for potential counterintelligence action locally are therefore pretty obvious.

b6
b7C

[redacted] is presently the subject of active investigation in the Selective Service category, as is [redacted]

Background information which is thus developed may prove useful for counterintelligence purposes. Bureau authority is also being requested to initiate an active security investigation of [redacted] who is a [redacted]

b6

[redacted] has already received considerable publicity in Phoenix papers in connection with his anti-war and anti-draft activities. It is understood also that Governor JACK WILLIAMS is well aware of [redacted] radical proclivities and has privately expressed concern about him. This suggests an avenue of counterintelligence approach as well as that offered by reliable and cooperative contacts in the news media.

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In addition to the above observations, SA RAYMER P. PETERS has some specific views regarding this matter as it pertains to the Tucson area. SA PETERS has indicated that he will prepare the letter to the Bureau which reBulet states must be submitted on or before 6/1/68.

Recommendation: Reassign at Tucson.

105-2683 - 2

(2) - PX 105-2683

PGT/pd
(2)

SEARCHED INDEXED
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MAY 25 1968
FBI - PHOENIX



5010-108

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6-10-77

0-79 (Rev.

TO: SAC:

DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CNW

(date)

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☐ Madrid
☐ Manila
☐ Mexico City
☐ Ottawa
☐ Paris
☐ Rome
☐ Tokyo

☐ SAC, New Rochelle (MRA)☐ ASAC, Rapid City ("Mini")

RE: NEW LEFT ACTIVITY
 ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

1. Re report SA _____ dated _____
 at _____
2. Re PHOENIX _____ dated 7-1-68
 (office) _____
 at PHOENIX _____

3. Re enclosure to _____ airtel/letter dated _____
 (office) _____
 at _____

4. Other _____

The following changes in classification have been made in the above communication(s).

- a. Declassified 6-2-77
- b. Classified _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____
- c. Downgraded to _____, exemption category _____
- d. Upgraded to _____, exemption category _____
 by _____, date _____, date of automatic
 declassification _____

Bufile 100-449698-38-3

Urfile 105-2683

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SEARCHED
 SERIALIZED

JUN 15 1977

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NEW LEFT ACTIVITY---UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

City Hall during an antidraft demonstration sponsored by the SPA. He was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury at Tucson on January 3, 1968, on two counts - Burning Draft Card and Failure to Possess Draft Card. He later entered a plea of not guilty. He was found guilty in U. S. District Court, Tucson, on May 9, 1968; and on June 3, 1968, he was sentenced by U. S. District Judge James A. Walsh as a young adult under provisions of the Youth Corrections Act. He has filed notice of appeal and is free on bond; however, he has taken little part in SPA activities since being sentenced.

(b) [redacted] was a sophomore at UA in the Liberal Arts College when he dropped out at the end of the first semester of the 1967-68 school year. He is a white male born [redacted] at Tucson, Arizona. He had completed his freshman year at California Institute of Technology before entering the UA. [redacted] became active in the SPA in late 1967. and, like [redacted]

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[redacted] He was indicted on the same two counts as was [redacted] was convicted in U. S. District Court, Tucson, on June 13, 1968; and on June 24, 1968, he was sentenced as a young adult under provisions of the Youth Corrections Act, an indefinite term, which means that he must go to prison but can be paroled at any time; period of parole is six years. As of June 25, 1968, [redacted] has not filed notice of appeal and is temporarily incarcerated as a Federal prisoner in the Pima County Jail at Tucson.

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(c) [redacted] is a graduate student in philosophy. He is a white male, born [redacted] in New York City. He entered the UA February 3, 1965, from Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, as a sophomore. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree, with major in English, in February, 1968, and entered graduate college at the UA the same month. [redacted] became active in the SPA in early 1968, and in early May, 1968, he helped form the CAMPUS DRAFT OPPOSITION COMMITTEE (CDOC) of the SPA and acted as its chairman. The CDOC mailed out about 2,000 invitations to graduating male students and to faculty members inviting them to attend a "Vietnam Convocation" which they planned

Best Copy Available

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

SAC, ST. LOUIS

8/28/68

SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

ReBulet to Albany, copies to all offices, 7/5/68.

A key figure in New Left activities in the Phoenix area is [redacted] Arizona. A credit bureau report dated 1/5/68 indicates that [redacted] "briefly [redacted]"

FD-9 submitted to the Bureau 8/8/68, however, did not result in the location of any fingerprints for [redacted] [redacted] for this individual.

[redacted] is a white male who was born [redacted] at Rochester, New York.

It is requested that St. Louis attempt to locate [redacted] and that all information contained therein, especially that [redacted], be furnished to Phoenix.

2 - St. Louis (RM)
② - Phoenix
(1 - 100-6444)

PGT/gle
(5) *gle*

Searched.....

Serialized.....

Indexed.....

Filed.....

105-2683-13

Intellectual Dross

Once upon a simpler time in American history, and not really so long ago, the very young human male went out behind the outhouse to learn the vulgarities of his language from others his own age, who served as tutors without pay.

Now his somewhat older modern counterpart goes to college for the same treatment, and there is one difference in addition to that of the pupil's age: the instructor draws a salary from the public treasury for his services.

Perhaps there is another difference, too. It used to be boys behind the outhouse. Girls have been added, in the classroom.

These are thoughts occasioned by the case of Morris J. Starsky, an assistant professor of (of all things!) philosophy at Arizona State University. Starsky was found guilty in Tempe justice court of disturbing the peace. His trial before Justice Ralph Fowler was featured by testimony and argument about obscenities Starsky was said to have used toward another university staff member.

Starsky admitted using the words attributed to him but said they were not obscene. They are words which often are found defacing public restrooms, scrawled under old bridges, and the like. We would not use them in this newspaper. Most of the men we know do

not use them in ordinary speech. Some do in anger.

When Starsky disputed obscenity of the words, he said that he used them regularly while teaching at the university, and said he would not object to their being used to a young child. We are left to assume that a young man or woman who has signed up for Starsky's class at the university has not much choice, short of dropping out, but to sit and absorb the terms which the assistant professor considers not to be obscene.

Probably the young minds are resilient enough to escape damage from the words which they have heard, anyway, in much less exalted surroundings. That's not really the issue. It seems to us that the issue is whether, in a place of learning, the young people are not entitled to something better than intellectual slop, call it by any other adjective you prefer. If academe's semantic sophistication has retrograded to the level of yesterday's 9-year-old thrilling to his own naughtiness, who needs professors?

Outside the courtroom the question isn't so much whether Starsky's words were technically obscene as it is whether a man so hard up for the means properly to express himself can be a good teacher.

6 PHOENIX GAZETTE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

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10-12-68
Evening

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

105-2683
PHOENIX

105-2683-18

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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OCT 1 1968	
FBI PHOENIX	

10/18/68

2XW:cc mnd

1/11 100-6444

1/11 mnd

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683)

DATE: 10/18/68

FROM : SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-21213) P

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b7C

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Phoenix letter, 8/28/68.

A review on 10/14/68, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

and finding was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He was also under observation for
[REDACTED] however, this stayed within the normal limits.

b6
b7C

There were [REDACTED] or character or
efficiency ratings.

The following information is contained in the records:

Date and place of birth	[REDACTED]
Race	White, male
Height	5'10"
Weight	237 lbs.
Hair	Brown
Eyes	Brown
Build	Heavy
Blood Group	A
Scar	Appendectomy
Marital Status	Single
Education	BA Degree in Philosophy from U. of Rochester (55); and Graduate Student (part time teaching assistance) at

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2 - Phoenix
2 - St. Louis
MJD:mck
(4)

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2004
100-64444

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 21 1968	
NIX	



5010-108

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SL:

#100-21213

b6
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Hobbies
Foreign Language
Father

Relative
Social Security No.
Selective Service No.
LDB No.

[REDACTED]
Mass. (History of Ideas) (57).
Photography, Music and Reading
Read German

[REDACTED],
Rochester, N.Y. (3/57).

b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Date received 10/18/68	Received from (name or symbol number) 	Received by SA RAYMER P. PETERS, JR.
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) ☒ in person ☐ by telephone ☐ by mail ☒ orally ☐ recording device ☐ written by Informant		
If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Date _____ Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant _____		Date of Report 10/18/68 Date(s) of activity 10/16/68 b6 b7C b7D
Brief description of activity or material tells of SDS conference at Boulder, Colorado.		File where original is located if not attached
Remarks:		

ADMINISTRATIVE:

b6
b7C

as para-
phrased in this report possibly presents an opportunity for
disruptive action under the counterintelligence program.
In view of
 and the fact that she apparently will spearhead SDS
and PFA efforts to recruit high school students,
, if brought to the attention of the public
through the news media, might well embarrass even .

1 - 100-6493 (PFA)

1 - 100-6251

1 - 100-6033 (SDS)

1 - 100-6563 1 - 100-6531 L - 100-4472 1 - 100-6498 1 - 100-6520

② - 105-2683 (COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)

1 - 100-6127 (SPA)

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b7D105-2683-21
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SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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OCT 2 1968	
FBI - PHOENIX	

RPP/gle
(12)

Ray Peters

11/19/68

AIRTEL

TO: SAC, DETROIT
SAC, PITTSBURGH

FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

b6
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b7D

On 11/14/68 [redacted]
[redacted], Arizona, furnished
the following information:

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b7D

[redacted] came there in [redacted] from
[redacted] Pennsylvania. All of [redacted]
degrees were received from the [redacted], Ann
Arbor, Michigan. He was very quiet and unobtrusive during
his first year at [redacted]. This year, however, he has drawn
considerable attention to himself in that he has been active
in efforts to disarm the campus police, take away their
photographic equipment and restrain them from conducting
"political" investigations of students or faculty.

Phoenix indices are negative as to [redacted]

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On 11/15/68 it was ascertained by IC [redacted]
[redacted], that [redacted] has no identification record
and no credit record in the Phoenix area; further that he
does not have an Arizona driver's license.

Detroit and Pittsburgh are requested to search
indices with regard to [redacted] and suairtel results to
Phoenix.

b6
b7C

- 2 - Detroit (RM)
- 2 - Pittsburgh (RM)
- ② - Phoenix

PGT/gle
(6)

12-12-68
R/S Pittsburgh

*Boed
Jua*

Serialized.....
Indexed.....
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Jua

105-2683-22

C.L.C. Meeting . . .

To the Editor:

THOSE WHO were present at the C.L.C. meeting which passed the anti-Communist-fascist amendment witnessed one of the greatest political fiascos in campus history.

The group which adopted this amendment was not the C.L.C.

To put it bluntly, they were a group whose opinions were obscured in a "packed meeting."

It was difficult for an "old" member of the organization to recognize anyone at the Thursday meeting who he had seen at any previous meetings. The attendance at a normal C.L.C. meeting is usually between 20 and 30. The attendance Thursday was over 90!

The opinions held by these extra 60 while important, is unknown. For that matter so are the opinions held by the regular members. As a result the vote was valueless in determining the true stand of C.L.C.

More important, however, is the fact that about 35 of these people did vote, and thus, formulated the group's future policies.

C.L.C. is to be blamed for this blunder.

It was understood that anyone on campus who attended the meeting and paid a quarter, was entitled to a vote and membership.

Clearly, any action taken by so

nebulous a group reflects nobody's opinion.

The question arises, is it proper for the internal policies of any organization to be formulated and controlled, not by the actual members of the organization, but by "interested" outsiders? Obviously not!

However, such responsible and influential campus citizens (among others) as Leah Marks and Chuck Elliott (both who had never previously attended any C.L.C. meetings) seem to think it is all right.

Both were present and participated in the voting.

Mr. Elliott joined the organization a half hour before it adjourned, and cast a vote which would have been most important in determining the fate of a fundamental policy amendment.

Miss Marks was present throughout, and voted on every major issue.

If these people (and all the others who attended), claim that it is a group's right to decide its own affairs without outside interference, how do they justify their action?

Miss Marks and Mr. Elliott are now members of C.L.C. It will be interesting to see if they (and everyone else who joined the organization Thursday) will continue to remain so.

—Mark Reader, '55

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

March 9, 1952

105-2683-23

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Taylor + 94	

Robeson

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY has been refused the use of Masonic Temple Auditorium Oct. 19, apparently because Paul Robeson, their National Co-chairman, was one of the scheduled speakers at the party's rally.

After reviewing the case for more than two weeks, the Board of Directors of the Temple, decided that "due to the rather unfortunate circumstances involved, and the confusion caused in the local community over this matter, it would be best for the Masonry of Ann Arbor, and the community to turn the Progressive Party's petition down."

The Masons have said quite frankly that their only reason for doing so was because of Robeson's expected visit, and they attempt to justify their action by claiming that they reserve the right to refuse any petitioners the use of their halls.

The question of whether the receipt reserving the hall, issued by the Masons' representative, constitutes a petition or a contract, is a problem which will be decided by the courts.

Equally essential though, is a question that no court will answer. "Did the Masons have the right to bar Robeson simply because his activities are slightly disturbing, and his political philosophy an unpopular one?"

For so flimsy a reason Robeson should not have been banned. No matter how unsavory his beliefs are to the majority, in a democracy, no majority has the right to silence a man because they disagree with what he is saying.

We can only hope that the courts will reverse the decision of the Masons and refuse to yield to local pressures. Such a verdict might reestablish the Mason's belief in Democracy.

—Mark Reader

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

October 9, 1952

105-2683-24

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DEC 2 - 1968	
FBI - PHOENIX	

Taylor

Subversion?

NEWSPAPERS HAVE the habit of burying stories which reflect the asininity of our times on their inside pages.

If by chance someone stumbled across the following article it might have resulted in a momentary reflection:

Monday, six members of New York City's municipal colleges were fired. The reason — they refused to answer questions put to them by a Senate investigating committee. They were asked if they had Communist Party affiliations.

The interesting thing about this story is the total insignificance of these men in their profession. Two were physical education instructors. Two taught English, two were clerks in a registrar's office.

One needs the most exaggerated Swiftian imagination to see how these six men could subvert our entire educational system and all the students within it.

—Mark Reader

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

March 19, 1953

105-2683-25

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Taylor	

Campus Political Inertia

THE UNIVERSITY is politically dead.

All the outward signs of political divergence remain but they have lost their deeper convictions.

The Young Republicans and the Young Democrats continue to abuse each other regularly, but is merely from force of long standing and socially condonable habit. Basic differences have temporarily been buried as both groups reshuffle their organizations to fit their reversed political positions in society.

The Young Progressives are silent. Their organization has fallen into decay and has been abandoned. A Marxist study group has died in the embryonic stage of development.

The Civil Liberties Committee has lost its enthusiasm and with it its membership.

The Students for Democratic Action are present on campus in name only and it has been quite some time since they have done anything of value.

Remaining is the Student Legislature which is suffering from an acute attack of disillusionment and sophistry.

And so, the campus political scene is

sterile of imagination, conviction and apparently—issues.

The cause has been interpreted on various occasions as the result of apathy, or the search of the student for something more lasting, or just outright laziness.

These, too, are merely superficial causes.

Political evaporation, on this campus at least, has been the result of the realization by these various groups that they have been totally and indiscriminately whipped by powers greater than themselves.

These once dynamic organizations perhaps for the first time have managed to see themselves for what they are—an important, yet powerless part of the campus community.

This view laden with bitter pessimism and disillusionment has resulted in the inactivity of these organizations.

The "will to do" has been smashed by the grim realization that while there is much to be done, there is little which these political groups can actually accomplish.

—Mark Reader

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

May 5, 1953

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Taylor

The Rosenbergs— In Three Acts

IT HAD the makings of a three act tragedy—only it was too real to be believable on the legitimate stage.

Indictment, trial and revelation crowded the long first act. The second, the mobilization of vociferous partisan opinion and jurisprudence questioned by interminable appeals, prepared the emotionally involved world audience for the climactic third act—the last days in the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

Had the drama been penned, perhaps its author would have scribed his ideas in a manner thus:

Act I—THE TRIAL

Scene I—A tabloid fed American public is sensationally informed in the winter of 1950 the renowned and respected English scientist Dr. Klaus Fuchs has been arrested on the British Isles for crimes committed against that state. It is generally believed, in the secrecy shrouded case, that the hitherto irreproachable doctor has turned over to a foreign power the formula for Man-kinds' most destructive, self-sucidal weapon, the Atomic Bomb.

Fuchs' trial and conviction rapidly follow and the already shock-immune public falls back into the squalor of its insensibility. Six months later, however, the public is again roused when it is announced that a ring of atomic spies has been rounded up by the government of the United States. (With this, the curtain blots out the first scene.)

Scene II—The audience is taken through the proceedings of the Rosenberg trial. Witnesses for the state (chief among them David Greenglass, who the defense accuses of perjuring himself, to save his life) tell the innermost secrets of the spy ring. The prosecution endeavors to show that David Greenglass stole atomic information from the Los Alamos project where he was employed in 1944. The lawyers for the state charge Greenglass was in the employ of the Rosenbergs who in turn were in direct contact with a foreign power. The spy ring continued in this nefarious direction until 1946, the prosecution maintains.

The defense lawyers, led by Emmanuel Block, claim that the government has no case, because at the time of the alleged spy activities this foreign power had been an ally of the United States in its effort to crush fascism. When the jury finally reaches its verdict saying that the Rosenbergs are guilty of espionage, the scope of the case takes on new proportions. The judge in the trial, Judge Kaufman, sentences the newly convicted spies to death. He is lenient with the other members of

the ring giving most of them several years in federal penitentiaries.
(End of Act I)

Act II—MOBILIZATION

The world is now divided into a number of opposing camps and the Communists are attempting to make political capital out of the case. Some maintain the Rosenbergs are completely innocent. Others that the conviction is nothing more than a plot concocted by the government of the United States in a spasm of anti-semitic sentiment. Most people in the United States are thoroughly convinced that the Rosenbergs are guilty—some because of the edifice of the law which has found them to be so, others on the basis of the evidence presented during the court hearings.

However, the major fight centers about Judge Kaufman's death sentence. It is pointed out that this marks the first time in American history that in a time of peace persons such as the Rosenbergs have been condemned to die for committing acts of espionage.

The problem raised at the end of the second act is whether or not Judge Kaufman's death sentence is justified.

Act III—THE LAST DAYS

(In the third act, the hypothetical author begins to examine some of the problems of the Rosenberg case.)

Scene I—Monday

105-2683-27

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<i>Taylor</i>	

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

June 23, 1953

After two years of appeal and delay in the date of execution for the imprisoned Rosenbergs, their attorney Emmanuel Bloch appears before the Supreme Court asking for a review of the case. The high tribunal refuses to do so and it appears certain that the furor will end in their execution Thursday.

In the two year interim between sentence and what seems to be Bloch's last appeal such notables as the Pope and Albert Einstein have indicated their hesitancy over giving moral sanction to the execution.

The case had been called a travesty on justice and compared to the infamous Sacco, Venzetti trial of twenty-some-odd years before. However, while there is little question today of these immigrants' innocence, no such clearance can be given to the Rosenbergs. The two cases are similar only in their questioning of the fundamentals of Western concepts of punishment.

(As Monday draws to a close with the execution of the Rosenbergs set, the curtain descends.)

Scene II—Tuesday arrives and one of the Justices of the Supreme Court is presented with a brief which gives the defense a new argument not before considered. The brief claims that through all the hullabaloo the Rosenbergs had been tried under the wrong law. The problem then is, can the Rosenbergs be executed, guilty, or even brought to trial again if this is true. The lone Supreme Court justice is asked to rule on this.

He rules on Wednesday. Justice William Douglas grants the convicted pair a stay of execution. He rules that since several of the Rosenbergs activities for which they had been convicted could have possibly occurred in 1946 (the time of the passage of the Atomic Energy Act empowering a jury rather than a judge to pass sentence on those committing espionage), it is possible that Judge Kaufman has exceeded his authority.

Scene III—The Supreme Court is called into extraordinary session and reverses Douglas' stay, and on Friday the Rosenbergs die in their self-conscious martyrdom.

The hypothetical author asks these questions of his audience—Did not the Supreme Court act too hastily in its final decision on the brief presented to Douglas and shouldn't they have heeded the words of Justice Frankfurter who thought that the scope of the new question as to whether the Rosenbergs were tried under the right law, be considered at much greater length?

Even if the Rosenbergs were guilty as charged which the author is inclined to believe was not the death penalty too severe (as all such penalties are) and should it not have been lessened?

The author would answer yes to both questions, and resolves the play by saying that although the machinery of the law made the Rosenbergs death inevitable, it may be advisable to remake the law to rid it of its inhumanity.

—Mark Reader.

President Eisenhower & the Fifth Amendment

WITH THE GOVERNMENT rapidly closing legal loop-holes on balky witnesses appearing before Congressional investigating committees, the most recent executive order issued by the President in this touchy area of action must come under the close examination of the American public.

Mr. Eisenhower in his latest decision has made it possible for governmental department heads to fire their employes if they refuse to testify before a committee regarding "charges of alleged disloyalty or other misconduct" on the "ground of Constitutional privileges against self-incrimination."

On preliminary consideration one may believe the new order to be in violation of the provisions guaranteed in the Fifth Amendment. However, this is not the case.

Mr. Brownell, the Attorney General, pointed out the status of the law correctly when he said:

"No one denies that the government employe or applicant for such employment may constitutionally claim his privilege against self-incrimination. But, on the other hand, no one has the constitutional right to a Government job."

In effect Mr. Brownell has said that a department head may fire any employe because he refuses to answer certain questions. By doing this he implies that by the refusal of an employe to respond to questions the employe automatically becomes a "poor" governmental risk and so is subject to immediate termination of his job.

However, invocation of the Fifth Amendment clause concerning self-incrimination

does not presuppose that those using it are guilty of having committed a federal crime.

The amendment itself was originally designed so the entire burden of proving the validity of a case for the government rested with the prosecution, which would be forced to rely on sources of testimony other than the defendant's.

A defendant's refusal to answer questions under the new ruling implies that his response could be used against him by the prosecution in convicting him of a federal crime.

To take an example: A Congressional committee asks a man if he is a Communist. He answers no. He is then asked if he has known or associated with Communists. He may refuse to answer because he feels that his answer (if he has known Communists) might be used in attempting to prove that he is a Communist himself.

But this refusal to answer does not imply or mean that he himself is a Communist—only that his answer might be used by the prosecution as one link in a chain of testimony to prove he is one.

It then appears that Mr. Eisenhower's order has placed in the hands of government employers not only the right to fire their assistants but also the right to judge their loyalty at the same time.

This is the unwise and potentially dangerous provision of the order and creates the immediate necessity of its modification.

The power to judge guilt or innocence must be left with the courts and not arbitrarily handed out to irresponsible and untrained government officials.

—Mark Reader

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

October 16, 1953

105-2685-28

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 2 - 1953	
FBI - PHOENIX	

Taylor

From Names To Legislation

SEN. JOSEPH McCARTHY gives the impression of putting up rather than shutting up.

Rising to the bait offered in a terse and laudable editorial appearing in the Harvard Crimson, the Wisconsin Senator is now in the process, he says, of preparing legislation to penalize financially colleges that retain members of their staffs who refuse to cooperate with investigating committees.

McCarthy told a press conference that his office workers are busily drafting a bill that would remove tax exemptions from foundation funds donated to colleges and universities which employ faculty members who have invoked the Fifth Amendment.

He goes on by continuing to equate persons who invoke the Fifth Amendment with espionage agents under the domination of a foreign power.

Aside from the arguments advanced against holding this over-simplified viewpoint in past editorial comment on these pages, a new aspect of the investigating committees seems to have entered the picture.

In the past months the investigating committees have been little concerned with proposing legislation as a result of their findings. McCarthy and his followers have been content to make charges, which had they been leveled by another individual in the society, would have been considered libelous, and let things drop at that.

The political pattern has been one of hit and run, hit again and run again. The Harvard statement seems temporarily at least to have brought this pattern to a halt.

The blundering committees, not only are beginning to find their actions more vehemently opposed by organized groups, but are beginning to realize that their political procedures of capturing the minds of the American public have begun to back-fire.

These committees' irresponsibilities are finally gaining a vague recognition by the public as being nothing more than libelous name calling, and the public is slightly dissatisfied with the informative rationale behind the Congressional investigating committee.

McCarthy, above all a clever politician and sometimes appearing as somewhat of a pouting and revengeful child, has now turned to the second rationale of his committee—that of producing legislation.

It is apparent that financial penalization of educational institutions is hitting the colleges and universities of the nation at their most vulnerable point. The motive for legislation is not constructive but rather one of complete and utter revenge on the part of the Wisconsin Senator.

It appears McCarthy has been directly challenged by the educational leaders in the country—whom he apparently views as un-cooperative and suspect.

Instead of proving the accusations with which he has seen fit to pepper these educational institutions, McCarthy now is determined solely to get even.

Perhaps this prospective legislation will actually be submitted to the Congress next year as McCarthy implies. But one fact remains outstanding: it is not in the best interests of the nation, but only in the interest of the Senator and his ever-probing colleagues.

Time and again, it has been pointed out that the invocation of the Fifth Amendment does not "prove" the guilt of the defendant. Lawyers and writers are constantly trying to hang this fact into the heads of McCarthy and the public—so far, to no avail.

By putting the financial screws on education, McCarthy hopes to get more cooperation. If his proposed legislation is presented to the Congress and passed there is every likelihood to believe he will succeed.

However, it cannot be too strongly urged that the Congress not only defeat the legislation but laugh it out of the halls of the legislature. And in the meantime, lest any educational foundation under the threat of McCarthy's latest diatribe force members in their employ to abandon what is their constitutional right, let them first remember that the gentleman from Wisconsin is only in the talking stage and can be beaten by the same attitude which prompted a student newspaper to say "Put up or shut up."

What McCarthy has put-up is anger instead of evidence. He still has not met the challenge, and in this writer's opinion never will, because he never can.

—Mark Reader

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

November 18, 1953

105-2683-29

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 2 - 1968	
FBI - PHOENIX	
Taylor	

The Disinterested Observer: A Monologue

Best Copy Available.

YEAH, THAT'S ME. You want to ask a few questions? Sure, go ahead. No, I don't mind. Sure, I'm sure.

Would you repeat the name? How do you spell it? O-p-p-e-n-h-e-i-m-e-r. Oppenheimer. No, I don't know him. Never met. Never spoke to him. Why, I haven't even heard of him.

Why, I don't even know my next door neighbor. Never even seen him.

Am I married? Sure. But let me assure you I've never even met my wife. Too risky, you know. We don't even correspond.

A-Bombs? Bigger and better you say. Never heard of them.

But I told you I never heard of Oppenheimer.

Did I know that he associated with Communists including his brother in the 40's. Why, yes. Hey, what do you mean by "associated" anyway? He was seen in the presence of Communists? Even spoke to them? I see, that explains it. So what?

You say he fell in love with a Communist and married a former one? I thought that was generally known years ago. Oh, you're just bringing it up again? I see.

Are you sure he didn't carry home the books of a questionable young miss when he was seven?

You'll check? Good.

He contributed money to Communist causes, you say? Well, I'll be darned. Opposed Franco in the Spanish Civil War? Nasty him, but didn't a few hundred thousand other Americans do that?

You're checking on that, too. Fine.

Sure I know we're buddy buddy with the Generalissimo now but we weren't twenty years back, or were we? I don't

know what I'm supposed to believe any more.

You'll check. Okay.

He opposed the building of the hydrogen bomb? That's treason, you say? The man has no moral sense? Only foreigners and traitors think that way?

I guess so . . . but what about a guy like Urey. You know, the Nobel Prize winning physicist? Didn't he do the same? Do you think he's a traitor?

You're checking? Good.

You say he hired Communists to work in the Los Alamos atomic plant? That's interesting. Where did you hear that? You can't say. I see.

But were these 'Communists' employed in security jobs? You don't know but you'll check. Thanks.

You're not questioning his loyalty, you say, only his security standing? Would you repeat that. I didn't quite get you.

"We don't question his loyalty but he is a poor security risk."

Oh, I see. That sounds good. I like epigrams, too.

But this one works, you say? It gets results? A few thousand people in government employ, a few deportations, a few servicemen? Now, the top atomic physicist?

I'll say it gets results. I wish I could make up such effective epigrams. How do you go about it?

You'll check? Thanks.

You say it's all for security? To keep us all secure? You and me and the world?

That sounds fine. But I'm so secure now that I'm ready to be buried.

Aren't you?

You'll check? Sure.

—Mark Reader

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

April 14, 1954

105-2683-30

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 2 - 1968	
FBI - PHOENIX	

Taylor

Best Copy Available

Trace History Of Committees

(EDITOR'S NOTE: This is the second in a series of editorials and interpretive articles dealing with the question of Congressional investigating Committees and civil liberties. Readers are reminded that the views expressed in these articles reflect the opinions of the writer only.)

By MARK READER

What prompted the House of Representatives to set up a permanent standing committee on Un-American Activities?

The flash of silver shirts in Madison Square Garden or goon squads of the German-American Bund carousing down Broadway mauling unsuspecting citizens who looked as if they might have been Jews?

OR WAS IT the unrest in the newly formed labor unions fighting bloody battles for the right to bargain collectively with their employers? Was it the strikebreaking incident at Republic Steel here in Michigan?

Was it the Father Coughlin's jamming the airwaves with the nausea of their Fascistic propaganda, or The Depression with its crack-pot schemes to save an unemployed people?

The fear of revolution and the Veteran's march on Washington? The rise of Hitler and the Bolshevist upheaval in Russia? It was all of this and more.

THE 1920's AND 30's brought to the nation an abandonment of an era of relative complacency. It was the period of social and economic upheavals. The dormant forces of the extreme Right and Left became articulate and the political climate was rampant with radicalism.

The Depression brought to the nation a fear of the Communists and Hitler's successes on the Continent an awareness of the Nazi phantasmagoria.

Throughout these years Congress stepped into the national political picture more and more frequently.

THE FORERUNNER to the present House Committee on Un-American Activities Committee probably dates from May, 1930, when the House called for an investigation into Communist activity.

The then Police Commissioner of New York City, Grover Whalen, told the House that the Amtorg Trading Corporation was disseminating Communist propaganda.

The House set up a special committee to investigate Whalen's statement with Hamilton Fish as chairman. The newly formed group was given authority to:

"The Michigan Daily"
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

May 6, 1954

105-2683-31

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 2 - 1968	
FBI - PHOENIX	

Taylor

"Investigate Communist propaganda in the United States and particularly in our educational institutions; the activities and membership of the Communist Party of the United States; and all affiliated organizations and groups thereof . . . and all entities, groups, or individuals who are alleged to advise, teach, or advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States . . ."

WITH THIS delegated power behind it the special committee set to work and although it found that Whalen's charge could not be substantiated a report of the majority members of the group urged the outlawing of the Communist Party.

In a minority report filed by Rep. John E. Nelson of Maine he sharply criticized the majority of his colleagues for making such a recommendation. The House enacted no legislation as a result of this first investigation.

However, in 1934 the character of the Nazi movement in the country took on serious proportions as the legions of the German-American Bund began to form.

Under the sponsorship of Rep. Samuel Dickstein of New York the House set up another special committee for the purpose of conducting and investigation of:

"(1) the extent, character, and objects of Nazi propaganda activities in the United States,

"(2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and Un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries and attacks the principle of the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution, and

"(3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

THE HOUSE'S ACCEPTANCE of the resolution was apparently aimed at stopping the Nazi movement from spreading here but during the course of the debate one of the basic questions concerning such an act was formulated.

What exactly was an Un-American Activity?

This question was to recur time and again and still is one of the sore spots in finding a rationale for the present Un-American Activities Committee.

The phrase also led future investigating groups a wide and virtually undefined scope in which to conduct their probes.

Martin Dies, in 1938 recommended another special committee which was to look into Un-American activities. It was to last for seven months before disbanding. But after six years this committee was still going strong as a result of five House extensions of its life.

To the populace it became known as the Dies Committee, the direct forerunner to the current House Un-American Activities Committee.

It was delegated to investigate "the extent, character, and objectives of Un-American propaganda activities in the United States" and more important could look into propaganda instigated not only from foreign countries but "of domestic origin."

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of Dies the committee probed Communist activities in the CIO, the American Civil Liberties Union, sit-down strikes, Communism at Brooklyn College and the German-American Bund.

But the stress was placed once and for all on Communist activity and no longer were any major House Committees to probe Fascist movements in the country.

The organization of the permanent committee on Un-American Activities was pushed through the House of Representatives through the energies and political acumen of John Rankin of Mississippi.

At the first session of the House in January, 1945, Rep. Rankin introduced a bill which called for the creation of such a group. He managed to have the bill voted upon immediately.

THE FIRST VOTE went against his resolution as the House voted by division. But the Representative demanded a roll-call vote. The final total was 207 members in favor as opposed to 186 against. Forty Representatives failed to vote.

However, a breakdown of the vote reveals that 137 Republicans and 70 Democrats voted with Rankin. Sixty-three of these Democrats were from the South.

The officially constituted committee was composed of nine Representatives rather than seven which had characterized Dies' group.

Two new features were added to the committee; the power of subpoena and the power to act as a sub-committee. These facets have remained so until the present.

During its first year the committee was run by Rep. John Wood of Georgia and although it published no reports it looked into the activities of Communists William Z. Foster and Earl Browder. Its purpose was to determine to what extent the Communist party of the United States was controlled from foreign countries and whether

See HOUSE, Page 4

or not the American CP was advocating the overthrow of the Government by force or violence.

In 1946 the committee was again inactive holding only three days of hearings at which time Gerald L. K. Smith and Louis Budenz, an ex-Communist, were questioned.

But in 1947 the inactive committee got new life when J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey (who has since served a jail sentence for taking kick-backs from his staff) became chairman.

Thomas outlined the committee's plans for the year which included proposed investigations into Communist activities in Hollywood, education, labor unions and within the field of atomic research.

Another new feature was that for the first time the committee was to search not only for members of the Communist Party but Party sympathizers.

Of those people to appear before the committee during this year were Gerhart Eisler, United States representative for the Communist International and a host of Hollywood writers and actors.

Eisler added a new feature to committee hearings when he demanded the right to read a prepared statement before he was sworn in. Gerhart neither read his prepared statement nor was sworn in as both sides refused to yield. He was later held for contempt of Congress.

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party, added another innovation when he refused to appear before the committee.

In October, 1947 the committee began its investigations into the Screen Writers Guild in Hollywood in an effort to prove this group was dominated by Communists and that the American film industry was producing pro-Russian films at the insistence of Capitol Hill pressure.

For the first time the question which has proved of late the most irksome to both the committee and witnesses was asked systematically:

"Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States."

Ten Hollywood writers refused to answer this question, among them Ring Lardner, Jr.

The committee for the first time failed to reach any conclusions in its hearings although it said "outlines" and "patterns" were evident. The Hollywood probes were suddenly abandoned.

In 1948 the biggest case which the committee was to hear broke upon the scene—The Alger Hiss Case. In July of that year Elizabeth Bentley a former Communist charged that Government employees had turned over secret information to the Russian Government during the war. Whittaker Chambers of Time Magazine and the Pumpkin-Preserved Films highlighted the affair. Hiss was finally convicted of perjury in his testimony.

Meanwhile, the former Rep. Richard A. Nixon, now Vice-President of the United States had joined the committee and was heading a subgroup attempting to draw up legislation from the senior committees findings. The Mundt-Nixon Bill was one of the pieces of legislation derived from such hearings. (Sen. Mundt in his early career had also been a member of the House group.)

The bill sought a law in which members of groups acting on behalf of foreign agencies would be forced to register with the United States Government, listing the names and addresses of all members of such organizations.

Arthur Garfield Hays, of the American Civil Liberties Union, who will speak on campus Friday, at these hearings raised another question which has remained crucial in evaluating the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Hays' asked just how dangerous was the threat of American Communism and suggested that the Communist fed and gained strength on such publicity as the committee through its investigations was able to afford it.

Also to appear before the group during this year was Dr. Edward Condon, Director of the National Bureau of Standards who was charged by the group as being a weak link in the atomic security program.

He was later cleared of these charges by the Atomic Energy Commission. Others mentioned were Harry Dexter White, and Nathan Silvermaster.

In 1949-1950 the current chairman of the committee, Rep. Harold Velde of Illinois, joined the group and Rep. Rankin left the committee. John Wood became chairman.

The activities of the committee during the course of these years consisted of investigations of Communist movements in Hawaii. In June of 1949 Frank F. Oppenheimer and Jacquenette Oppenheimer, brother and wife of the noted atomic scientist who is now under investigation as being a poor security risk appeared before the committee and testified on their Communist links.

Following the hearing Frank Oppenheimer's resignation was accepted by the University of Minnesota.

In 1951 the committee, which had been compiling anti-Communist propaganda of its own, released a list of 624 organizations and 204 publications cited as subversive by the Attorney General. The Hollywood probes resumed, at which time actor Jose Ferrer denied he was a Communist, and Bud Shulberg, author, said he had once been a member of the Party.

Nineteen fifty-two was marked by the committee's charge that Dr. Dirk J. Struik of Massachusetts Institute of Technology was a Communist and a blast at the school for not discharging him.

In its annual report issued in 1952 the committee also urged the death penalty for peacetime espionage agents.

The following year was marked by Rep. Velde's charges that Communists had infiltrated the nation's churches and investigations which saw Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam called to the stand. He relentlessly castigated the committee and cleared himself of Communist charges leveled against him. The Committee also probed Communist activity in the nation's colleges in the East.

This year was marked by Rep. Harold Velde's demand that the Canadian Government allow Igor Gouzenko, the man who broke the Canadian atomic spy ring, to testify in the United States and the current probe into labor unions and educational institutions in Michigan.

What the Committee's next case will be is hard to tell. But it is evident that during the last few years it has lost ground to the McCarthy group in the Senate.

Whether it can ever gain its position of top anti-Communist prober of the United States Government is highly doubtful.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

F B I

Date: 11/27/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-35108)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

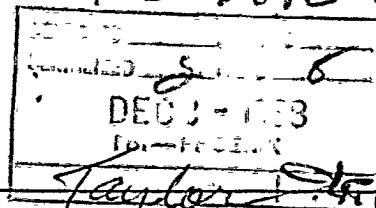
b6
b7C

Re Phoenix airtel, 11/19/68, requesting an indices search with regard to [REDACTED].

In accordance with the request set forth in referenced airtel, the indices of the Detroit Division were checked regarding [REDACTED] and the only pertinent references related to items which appeared in the "Michigan Daily", the official student publication of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor, Michigan. One copy each of the following items are enclosed:

1. President Eisenhower & The Fifth Amendment
2. The Disinterested Observed: A Monologue
3. From Names to Legislation
4. Robeson
5. Campus Political Inertia
6. The Rosenbergs -- In Three Acts
7. CLC Meeting...
8. Subversion?
9. Trace History of Committees

② - Phoenix (Enc. 9) (RM) *hy*
1 - Detroit
TJN/cfc
(3)

Approved: *QHS/n*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

Per _____

F B I

Date: 12/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683)
FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15986) (P)
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - ~~NEW~~ LEFT

Reurairtel to Detroit and Pittsburgh dated 11/19/68.

Pittsburgh reference 100-6306-1472 is an article entitled, "S.T. DAVIS RE-ELECTED BY NAACP," which was clipped from the 12/24/64, edition of "The Meadville Tribune," Meadville, Pa., daily newspaper of general circulation. This article reported that the Meadville Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had held an election of officers at its meeting on Tuesday night (12/22/64). One MARK READER was elected a member of the Executive Board of this Branch.

b6
b7C

Pittsburgh indices contain no other references identifiable with [REDACTED]

② - Phoenix (RM)
1 - Pittsburgh
JEMc/jsk
(3)

105-2683-33

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 28 1968	
FBI - PHOENIX	

Taylor

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Intellectual Dross

Once upon a simpler time in American history, and not really so long ago, the very young human male went out behind the outhouse to learn the vulgarities of his language from others his own age, who served as tutors without pay.

Now his somewhat older modern counterpart goes to college for the same treatment, and there is one difference in addition to that of the pupil's age: the instructor draws a salary from the public treasury for his services.

Perhaps there is another difference, too. It used to be boys behind the outhouse. Girls have been added, in the classroom.

These are thoughts occasioned by the case of Morris J. Starsky, an assistant professor of (of all things!) philosophy at Arizona State University. Starsky was found guilty in Tempe justice court of disturbing the peace. His trial before Justice Ralph Fowler was featured by testimony and argument about obscenities Starsky was said to have used toward another university staff member.

Starsky admitted using the words attributed to him but said they were not obscene. They are words which often are found defacing public restrooms, scrawled under old bridges, and the like. We would not use them in this newspaper. Most of the men we know do

not use them in ordinary speech. Some do in anger.

When Starsky disputed obscenity of the words, he said that he used them regularly while teaching at the university, and said he would not object to their being used to a young child. We are left to assume that a young man or woman who has signed up for Starsky's class at the university has not much choice, short of dropping out, but to sit and absorb the terms which the assistant professor considers not to be obscene.

Probably the young minds are resilient enough to escape damage from the words which they have heard, anyway, in much less exalted surroundings. That's not really the issue. It seems to us that the issue is whether, in a place of learning, the young people are not entitled to something better than intellectual slop, call it by any other adjective you prefer. If academe's semantic sophistication has retrograded to the level of yesterday's 9-year-old thrilling to his own naughtiness, who needs professors?

Outside the courtroom the question isn't so much whether Starsky's words were technically obscene as it is, whether a man so hard up for the means properly to express himself can be a good teacher.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) DATE: 1/22/69

FROM : *QHS/N* SAC, DETROIT (100-35108) (RUC)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

b6
b7C

Re Phoenix airtel, 11/19/69.

No investigation of [] conducted at Detroit, however, review of Detroit indices indicates that one [] was a frequent letter writer to the editor of the "Michigan Daily", 12/52-53. "Michigan Daily" is the official student newspaper at the University of Michigan (U of M), Ann Arbor, Michigan. [] signed his letters, []. These letters were anti-establishment regarding topical matters of the day, mainly pertaining to matters at the University of Michigan.

- ② - Phoenix (RM)
- 1 - Detroit
- CRO:LMO
- (3)

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105-2683-35

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED <i>RUB</i>	FILED <i>g</i>

[]



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-28-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CNW

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 2/27/69

FROM : SAC, PHOENIX (100-6618) (P)

SUBJECT: "ORPHEUS"
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

Rebulet to PX, 2/12/69.

San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 1/7/69, bearing the dual caption, "THE NEWSREEL; IS - MISCELLANEOUS and STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY; IS - SDS", enclosed copies of a LHM dated at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1/7/69, captioned "NATIONAL UNDERGROUND MEDIA CONFERENCE, MADISON, WISCONSIN, NOVEMBER 28 - DECEMBER 1, 1968" which called the attention of the Phoenix Office to "Orpheus Magazine, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ 85001."

That particular LHM also called attention to: "The Underground Press Syndicate, Box 1603, Phoenix, AZ 85001", "The Underground Press Distributing Agency, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ", "Underground Publishing Magazine, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ 85001", "Underground Press Library, Bin 1832, Phoenix, AZ 85001", "Gambit, Box 3085, Tempe, Arizona, 85251."

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Additional copies of the 1/7/69 LHM were furnished Phoenix for consideration in regard to [redacted] and [redacted] individuals deemed to be of interest to this division.

With the one exception of Orpheus, Phoenix indices revealed no previous references to any of the foregoing persons or things. Information had been furnished by the New Orleans Office, 12/4/68, indicating that the notation "Orpheus, Box 1832, Phoenix, Ariz." was included in a card index maintained by one [redacted] at Northwest State College, Natchitoches, La.

b6
b7C

Inquiry of local postal authorities on 1/14/69 established that Box 1603 and Box 1832 are located in the

② - Bureau (RM)
2 - Phoenix

PGT/sas
(4)

[Handwritten signature and initials inside a circle]

Searched

Serialized 1-5...

1 ...

5 ...

105-2683-36

PX 100-6618
PGT/sas

Downtown Station of the Post Office and that both are rented to "a bunch of hippies." Box 1832 is in the name of "Orpheus"; 1603 in the name of "Underground Press." Both were rented on 9/8/67 and were signed for by [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] who gave his place of residence as [redacted]
[redacted]. There was no previous reference to [redacted]
[redacted] in the Phoenix Office indices.

It has subsequently been ascertained that the premises at [redacted] and its occupants have for some time been of investigative interest to the Phoenix Police Department, because of possible narcotics violations for one thing. The police have determined that the principal occupants of the place and apparent operators of "underground" press activities there are [redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted]. Neither has any previous record with the Phoenix PD. [redacted] uses the alias [redacted] (not [redacted]).

b6
b7C

A copy of the publication "Orpheus" is being obtained and will be furnished to the Bureau for perusal at an early date. In addition, investigation is being conducted as called for in reBulet.

Best Copy Available

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-439048)

5/21/68

SAC, PHOENIX (100-6033) (P)

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
IS-SDS
OO: Chicago

b6
b7C

[redacted]
at Arizona State University (ASU), Tempe, Arizona, has been
associating with individuals prominently identified with the New
Left movement on that campus.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] also referred
to the Black Panthers as the "Community branch of SDS." He
further told the source [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

For what bearing it may have in judging the reliability
of [redacted] and statements made by him, the following
additional information elicited from the source is pointed out:

b6
b7C
b7D

Chicago and San Francisco are requested to furnish
any information available or obtainable regarding the [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (RM) (100-40903)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- ② - Phoenix
- ① - 100-6662 [redacted]

RGH:JLB
(9)

b6
b7C

Searched
Serialized by...
Indexed.....
Filed.....

105-2683-38

~~100-6033-395~~

Best Copy Available

b6
b7C

NY 100-6033

PQT:gjk

[redacted] and the conference which they reportedly have scheduled for 7/15/69 at Oakland, California. Phoenix indices reveal no previous data pertaining to the group.

Best Copy Available

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-57253)

5/23/69

SAC, PHOENIX (100-6545) (P)

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)

IS - SWP

OO: New York

Bufile: 100-427226

b6
b7C

Re Phoenix letter to Los Angeles, 5/20/69, copies
of which were designated for New York.

Ten anti-ROTC protesters led by [redacted]
[redacted] were arrested by campus security officers there
on 4/25/69, charged with "riot" and "display of seditious flag."
The state law pertaining to this latter offense has probably
not been used since 1919 and is widely regarded as unconstitutional.
Nevertheless, its being invoked on 4/25/69, may have helped
avoid a riot situation. The flag which figured in the anti-
ROTC rally was red in color and bore a picture of ERNESTO "Che"
GUEVARA, the late communist revolutionary.

[redacted] observed
that at the mall on campus, 5/16/69; [redacted] who
was manning the YSA table, had with her and was displaying about
five identical flags, ostensibly for sale, in what source
regarded chiefly as an attempt to embarrass or "mousetrap"
campus security. [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] and a Security
Index subject of the Phoenix Office. While it is understood
they have some prospective recruits under consideration, active
YSA members among ASU students known to the Phoenix Office,
are presently just [redacted] and [redacted] who
considers himself the [redacted] and who admits to
having been recruited in recent months by [redacted].

b6
b7C

In view of the fact that [redacted] was pointed out

- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-133479) (RM)
- 5 - Phoenix

(2) - 100-6545)

(1) - 100-6442 [redacted]

(1) - 100-6556 [redacted]

(1) - 100-6656 [redacted]

PCF:ajk
(9)

Searched.....

Serialized.....

Indexed.....

Filed.....

105-2683-39

EX 100-6545

PGR:gjk

In referenced Phoenix letter, was at ASU to give a speech 5/15/69, under YSA sponsorship, he can logically be regarded as a possible source of the flags which [redacted] had on 5/16/69.

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Los Angeles is requested to advise whether red flags, such as those described above, would be readily available to [redacted] so far as that office is aware.

New York is requested to advise whether it is known that such flags can usually be obtained through YSA sources or possibly from the SWP.

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June 4, 1969

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Introduction

The call to revolution sounded by New Leftists is being echoed by black extremists, and together they made our colleges and universities priority targets for disruption and destruction during the academic year of 1968-1969. These relatively small revolutionary elements on the campuses are being exhorted by professional agitators, both domestic and foreign.

Sit-ins, seizures of campus buildings, destruction of university property, holding school administrators hostage, and the use of naked terror have disrupted the Nation's institutions of higher learning in recent months. During the current academic year, there have been demonstrations on over 200 campuses throughout the United States. These often violent demonstrations, involving at times arson and the use of explosives, have resulted in property damage in excess of \$2,250,000 and over 2,300 arrests.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) forms the very core of the New Left today, and it has instigated much of the unrest, disruption, and destruction on our college campuses.

This document has been prepared to acquaint the reader with the origin, development, aims and objectives of SDS. It is based largely on information obtained from papers and pamphlets issued by SDS, from statements made by SDS leaders and from observation of the activities of the organization.

The Beginning

SDS was, until the two organizations amicably parted in 1965, a youth affiliate of the League for Industrial Democracy. (The League is successor to the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society --a group organized in 1905.) The stated purpose of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society was to mobilize college professors, students and graduates to teach socialism and collective ownership to college students, teachers, professional men, and communities at large throughout the country.

"Port Huron Statement" of 1962

The militant, defiant SDS organization which exists today actually was founded at a convention held at Port Huron,

Michigan, in June, 1962. A "select" group of students who described themselves as "liberals and radicals" attended this founding convention. It was here that the group's "Port Huron Statement" (now considered a "quaint" document by the modern-day revolutionary SDSer) was drafted.

The "Port Huron Statement" is a lengthy document (it fills 60 pages of a booklet) which covers a variety of subjects including peace, poverty and civil rights. The following are brief excerpts from this document:

"As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation."

"The American political system is not the democratic model of which its glorifiers speak. In actuality it frustrates democracy by confusing the individual citizen, paralyzing policy discussion, and consolidating the irresponsible power of military and business interests."

"We are subject to a remote control economy, which excludes the mass of individual 'units'--the people--from basic decisions affecting the nature and organization of work, rewards, and opportunities."

"Today the world alternatively drifts and plunges towards a terrible war--when vision and change are required, our government pursues a policy of macabre dead-end dimensions--conditioned, but not justified, by actions of the Soviet bloc. Ironically, the war which seems so close will not be fought between the United States and Russia, not externally between two national entities, but as an international civil war throughout the unrespected and unprotected civitas which spans the world."

"While weapons have accelerated man's opportunity for self-destruction, the counter-impulse to life and creation is superbly manifest

in the revolutionary feelings of many Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Against the individual initiative and aspiration, and social sense of organicism characteristic of these upsurges, the American apathy and stalemate stand in embarrassing contrast."

"Our pugnacious anti-communism and protection of interests has led us to an alliance inappropriately called the 'Free World'....An unreasoning anti-communism has become a major social problem for those who want to construct a more democratic America."

"As democrats we are in basic opposition to the communist system. The Soviet Union, as a system, rests on the total suppression of organized opposition....The Communist Party has equated falsely the 'triumph of true socialism' with centralized bureaucracy....Communist parties throughout the rest of the world are generally undemocratic in internal structure and mode of action."

"Our paranoia about the Soviet Union has made us incapable of achieving agreements absolutely necessary for disarmament and the preservation of peace."

"Our America is still white....White, like might, makes right in America today."

"America should concentrate on its genuine social priorities: abolish squalor, terminate neglect, and establish an environment for people to live in with dignity and creativeness."

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"A program against poverty must be just as sweeping as the nature of poverty itself."

[redacted] who was born in Detroit in [redacted]
[redacted] is credited by SDS with being [redacted]
of its "Port Huron Statement." [redacted] resides in San Francisco, California, and while not currently affiliated with SDS has been speaking on college campuses throughout the country. He

was arrested during the Columbia University riots in May, 1968, and in August, 1968, in connection with disruptions of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. He became the focal point of not only national but international attention in December, 1965, and January, 1966, when he joined Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker and Yale faculty member [redacted] on a trip to North Vietnam. Their trip constituted a blatant defiance of such laws as those proscribing travel to countries designated by the Secretary of State, which countries include North Vietnam, and prohibiting misuse of a United States passport. Aptheker is [redacted], a self-admitted communist who has been an active participant in SDS affairs. [redacted] has been outspoken in opposing United States policy toward Vietnam and has participated in demonstrations from Washington, D. C., to Berkeley, California.

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"Participatory Democracy"

The program of SDS since its 1962 convention at Port Huron, Michigan, has been one characterized by opposition. SDS opposes Selective Service, opposes United States participation in the war in Vietnam, opposes academic and administrative practices of our colleges and universities.

Members of SDS speak of "participatory democracy" as an ideal form of society. Actually, "participatory democracy" is a system bordering on anarchy--one which strongly distrusts "the establishment," "authority," "the system."

This "anti-establishment" attitude on the part of SDS is strongly reflected in its weekly publication, "New Left Notes." In its February 20, 1967, issue, "New Left Notes" published a special box containing the following observation:

"Sure, you think what you wish. But you wish to think what the controllers wish you to think."

The December 9, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes" published a similar thought from Henrik Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People":

"The most dangerous enemy of truth and freedom amongst us is that compact majority--yes, the damned, compact Liberal majority--that is it! Now you know!"

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The cornerstone of "participatory democracy" SDS-style is found in the following sentence which appears in the Preamble to the Constitution of SDS:

"It (SDS) maintains a vision of a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent."

The fact that an individual might have neither the education nor the experience--neither the necessary information nor the ability--to effectively participate in, or to "control," critically important policy decisions matters little to SDS.

That chaos and individual anarchy would prevail if a system of "participatory democracy" were ever attempted in so large and complex a society as the United States is obvious. Yet, to the members of SDS, "participatory democracy" represents a Utopia to be practiced and promoted in SDS affairs.

National Convention in 1965

For example, at the National Convention of SDS which was held at Camp Maplehurst, Kewadin, Michigan, in June, 1965, the theme of "participatory democracy" prevailed from the opening moment until the closing day. All facilities at the convention site--including cabins and bathrooms--were coed, being shared by the more than 250 participants without regard to sex, color or creed. The camp facilities were described as being filthy--but so were many of the delegates, a number of whom went barefoot, unshaven and unkempt.

One of the participants in this National Convention, a faculty member from Wayne State University in Detroit, advocated that "chain-ins and sit-ins" be staged "at major thoroughfares" in the interest of promoting "peace." Another proposed an "emergency crisis program" to completely tie up traffic in Washington, D. C. His plan included such measures as stalling cars on expressways and staging "lie-ins" in front of police and fire stations.

The director of this convention, [redacted] a mathematician and graduate of the University of Chicago who then, at age 24, was National Secretary of SDS--offered a proposal so radical that it was dubbed [redacted] "

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In order to force a "political trial" which would make the Government defend its "immoral acts in Vietnam," [redacted] advocated that SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, as well as certain parts of the Military Code of Justice and certain provisions of the Smith Act of 1940. He specifically suggested that members enter American military bases and distribute leaflets to demoralize servicemen and urge servicemen to desert or adopt other means of avoiding participation in the Vietnam conflict.

"New Left Notes"

"New Left Notes" is published at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, the national headquarters of the organization. In October, 1966, it claimed to have a total weekly distribution of 5,596 copies--5,096 to mail subscribers, and 500 distributed free. Today it has over 8,000 subscribers.

"New Left Notes" is more sounding board than news sheet. It provides a medium for SDS officials and supporters to circulate opinions and proposals which they may have. Many of the articles and poems which it publishes would shock the ordinary citizen--particularly those citizens who are repulsed by the sight of four-letter words.

Vietnam, Selective Service, "the military-industrial complex," American foreign policy, university reform--these are the favorite targets for attack in "New Left Notes." Others include poverty and racism.

SDS and its weekly newspaper are obsessed with methods of avoiding military service. For example, the January 20, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" contains a boxed announcement urging:

"MAKE DRAFT-RESISTANCE A REALITY

"Keep the National Office informed regarding Draft-Resistance programs and activities in your area. Submit your reports and/or requests for information to: resist, SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612. For emergency aid or advice call (312) 606-3874. Watch NLN ('New Left Notes') for the names and addresses of your local resistance agents. Why don't you organize a Draft-Resistors Union?"

Blueprint for Draft Dodgers

The February 3, 1967, issue of "New Left Notes" contains an article by [redacted] an SDS field organizer, which suggests, "There are numerous ways of messing up draft boards. Some are only harassment techniques, while others may be good for organizing." Here are some of [redacted] "helpful" observations:

"...you have a right to see the file your (draft) board has on you if you make an appointment. Under most circumstances, there is nothing to prevent you from absconding with all or part of your file, or, possibly inserting new data."

"It might also be good to simply send your board a card saying, 'I appeal,' and leave it up to them to find out precisely what it is that you are appealing. A beneficial side-effect of this form of harassment is that you cannot be drafted while anything relating to your draft status is on appeal."

"It is possible to register people who do not exist....You can get a photostat (of a birth certificate for a deceased individual), go to a draft board, and register under a false name and address. The fun ensues when this mythical person does not respond to any mail, and fails to report for a physical or induction. Ultimately, federal agents will spend much time attempting to track down people who do not exist."

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[redacted] points out that such acts of false draft registration are punishable by imprisonment "if you're caught.")

"It is possible to fake a IV-F without using drugs to wreck yourself. You could go to a doctor, and complain of ulcerous symptoms, (sickness after drinking alcohol, sickness if you don't eat, burning sensation if you do, etc.) He will tell you to come back for an X-ray. The night before the X-ray, take some peanut butter, roll it into a ball 1/4 inch in diameter, and

"One thing which is very important to remember is that these centers are rarely on federal property, in which case orders from soldiers should be resisted firmly and as loudly as possible. At the very worst, the police might be summoned to arrest you for disturbing the peace."

"SDS reaffirms its opposition to the United States Government's immoral, illegal, and genocidal war against the Vietnamese people...."

"...SDS therefore encourages all young men to resist the draft. 'Since individual protest cannot develop the movement needed to end the draft and the war, SDS adopts the following program:

"A. SDS members will organize unions of draft resisters. The members of these unions will be united by the common principle that under no circumstances will they allow themselves to be drafted....

"B. National SDS will assist all efforts to organize, within the armed forces, resistance to United States foreign policy. Towards this end we will publish a periodical newspaper and other literature directed to those already in the armed forces....

"C. Since the primary task of SDS is that of building a movement for social change in the United States, we do not advocate emigration as an alternative to the draft. Nevertheless, we realize that this option is being considered by many young men. We will thus provide information about emigration, and will encourage those who emigrate to build international support for the draft resistance unions and to work for an end to the war."

Attacks on Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC)

One of the targets of the New Left is military service, especially ROTC training on university campuses throughout the country. In this regard, it is significant that in April, 1969, 29 independent college newspapers published simultaneously an identical editorial demanding that ROTC be abolished from all campuses. If the New Left extremists can accomplish this objective, it is not difficult to imagine the effect it would have on this Nation's defense posture.

It was at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, that a student who was an SDS member was seized on December 3, 1968, by authorities as he placed a fire bomb at the campus headquarters of the University ROTC. He was later convicted in Federal court on a charge of sabotage and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

At the December, 1968, SDS National Council meeting held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the Columbia University chapter of SDS sponsored a proposal, "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools (A National Winter-Spring Offensive)." While this

proposal was not acted on at that time, the main part, to destroy ROTC and remove it from the campus, certainly received support from SDS chapters throughout the country in the Spring of 1969. Demonstration after demonstration, many of which have been culminated by violence, have occurred at many colleges and universities, the main target being ROTC.

University Reform

Inherent in SDS is a bitter attack against American higher education - its policies, procedures and goals. In fact, the very nature of the University, in its traditional approach toward education, is under strong assault. The pressure of SDS has become so intense that in some schools riots and violent demonstrations have occurred. In others, there have been sit-ins and other forms of harassment.

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A key figure in the New Left's demand for university reform was [redacted] in 1967. An article by [redacted] entitled "A Student Syndicalist Movement: University Reform Revisited" ("New Left Notes," September 9, 1966) has been widely discussed in SDS circles.

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In this article, [redacted] charges that universities must be reformed because they are part of the "corporate liberal society." "Our educational institutions are corporations and knowledge factories." They produce conformist, pliable students for our "dehumanized," "oppressive" system. [redacted] urges students to become more militant. "Obviously, we need to organize, to build a movement on the campuses with the primary purpose of radically transforming the university community."

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Specifically, [redacted] suggests the creation of a student syndicalist movement. This type of organization would have as a basic purpose "student power" - a favorite SDS slogan. "What we do want is a union of students where the students themselves decide what kind of rules they want or don't want. Or whether they need rules at all."

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A primary aim of student control would be the abolition of the grade system, according to [redacted]. Here is an issue, he says, which concerns every student and faculty member, and hence an issue which can be radically inflamed by SDS agitation. Moreover, such demands "cannot be met by the administration without radically altering the shape and purpose of our educational system." In other words, agitation concerning abolition of the grade system, in SDS eyes, is a weapon to disrupt and transform the normal operations of the traditional University system.

Another compelling SDS reason for demanding abolition of the grading system is that grades play a role in determining whether a male student is or is not to be drafted. Or as Davidson says: "Finally, the Selective Service would have a hell of a time ranking us."

Other specific forms of "student power" advocated by Davidson include, for example:

- constant harassment and disruption of meetings of the existing student government, such as "showing up en masse at a meeting and singing the jingle of the now defunct 'Mickey Mouse Club.'"

- at the beginning of the semester request or demand of the professor "that you and your fellow classmates participate in shaping the structure, format and content of that particular course."

- sign up for, attend, denounce and walk out of and picket excessively large classes.

- organize students and "liberated profs" to work out "model counter-curricula." Then come these revealing words: "agitate for its adoption, mainly because students participated in shaping it rather than on its merits."

- hold mock trials of University officials for their "crimes against humanity."

Obviously, if "student power" and "control" were formalized as the SDS envisions, institutions of higher education would be badly crippled. Colleges would be turned into chaos and turmoil and no longer would be the sites for either scholarship or a search for truth.

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Just what effect the [redacted] has produced is not difficult to determine. Agitation against the grade system has sprouted on many campuses. A "New York Times" article indicated that Columbia University was considering whether to withhold the class standings of students from draft boards. The article also stated that Wayne State University

in Detroit and Reed College in Portland, Oregon, had decided to withhold class rankings. Haverford College in Haverford, Pennsylvania, abandoned class standings altogether to avoid turning them over to draft boards. The article added that in June, 1966, six members of the psychology faculty at City College of New York gave all their students final grades of "A" as a protest against the use of class standings by Selective Service officials.

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Early in 1967, an SDS member, [redacted] was elected [redacted] at Iowa State University. A bearded, beatnik type, [redacted] received widespread publicity.

"New Left Notes" (February 27, 1967) was enthusiastic over his election. [redacted] the very image of the stereotyped, bearded, long-haired radical, took 47% of the votes cast." About 7,200 votes were cast in a race involving four candidates. Subsequently, [redacted] became a highly controversial figure. He admitted publicly that he smoked marijuana at "pot parties" on the campus. Impeachment petitions were circulated, and he [redacted]

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Revealingly, [redacted] program included abolition of all University regulations of student life outside the classroom and the elimination of class rank and cooperation of the University with Selective Service officials unless a student so requests.

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[redacted] however, shows how a small SDS chapter ("about 30 activists") was able to achieve a victory. Members campaigned against the draft, for the start of a "Free University" and circulated a "We Won't Go" statement.

The article concluded:

"Most of us felt that we've been pretty successful and productive in our activities so far...Boldness, honesty and imagination went into an initially sterile election. Much work. Good leafleting, letters to the editor, posters, and reporting in the 'Daily.' No pressure from the administration. A bored 'apathetic' and sterile University ready for change."

A key word for SDS is "organize" - and the Iowa story can be duplicated in other areas of the country. This shows

how a small, well-organized, hard-hitting group can activate, mobilize and direct the thinking and actions of many other students. Some of the words used by the SDS are the same as employed by the old-time Bolsheviks when they were aiming toward state power in Czarist Russia. One of the sub-heads in [] article in "New Left Notes" on university reform reads: "What is To Be Done?" - which is the exact title of Lenin's famous pamphlet of 1902 in which he outlines how Bolshevik control is to be obtained.

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The SDS has spearheaded or participated in countless demonstrations--large and small--at colleges and universities in all parts of the country in recent years. The massive and violent demonstration at Columbia University in April, 1968, gained SDS adherents great notoriety. This demonstration had been planned in detail in October, 1967, by []. The police arrested nearly 700 individuals involved in this demonstration, and University officials estimated the damage to the buildings at approximately \$250,000.

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This violent and militant philosophy of SDS in respect to the campus has been displayed by major demonstrations at Harvard University in December, 1968, and April, 1969; at the State University of New York at Binghamton in December, 1968; at American University and George Washington University in Washington, D. C. in April, 1969; and again at Columbia University in April, 1969.

Advocacy of Violence

SDS seems to desire - almost to need - an "enemy" on which to vent its bitterness and spleen. That "enemy" is their own country and government. This is one of the paradoxes of the SDS.

Deeper, however, can be seen a basic hatred of America that can be satisfied only by the total destruction of this country. Here lies the danger of the New Left - its nihilism and anarchism. Moreover, it is growing more militant and hostile to law. The "National Guardian," a weekly radical newspaper, in its April 8, 1967, issue carried an analysis of the SDS, saying the organization is changing significantly:

"A year ago SDS was discussing the possibility of a move 'from protest to politics.' Today the discussion, and perhaps the decision, is 'from protest to resistance.' The distinction between politics and resistance is so great as to imply a qualitative change.

"By politics SDS meant the creation of a left political force in the U. S. that would work within the norms of society. By resistance, according to Gregory Calvert, SDS national secretary, is meant this formulation: 'No matter what America demands, it does not possess us. Whenever that demand comes - we resist.'"

Note the concept: that of resistance; not of working within "the norms of society," as a legitimate reform movement, but developing tools of resistance! Here is the "qualitative change."

Later, the article discusses more fully the "resistance concept," quoting Greg Calvert. To reach students, Calvert says, "We have to build a movement out of people's guts, out of their so-far internalized rejection of American society, and present people with a revolutionary alternative to the American way of life."

Calvert continues:

"A resistance movement, based on the slogan, 'Not with my life, you don't,' is basic to helping people break out of their own prisons. People are capable of doing extraordinary things when they are in resistance. They can walk out on their studies and take on new lives, if necessary. They do not walk to gas chambers. In the process of resistance, in struggling against the powerlessness that capitalism imposes on the individual, there is a re-discovery of the self in the midst of a de-humanizing society.

"Many of us in SDS share a conviction that this is what has to happen. That we must resist, and that people must break free. None of us

is sure we can win. All we can say is that there are other ways to lead our lives in the face of the obscenity of what American life is - and that we intend to live them that way." (underscoring added)

Of late, the SDS has increasingly demonstrated its advocacy of and reliance on violence. In December, 1967, Calvert stated at an SDS chapter meeting in Oklahoma that the SDS and other new left groups were organizing and planning efforts to disrupt the national "warmaking effort" all over the country. Some months before, Calvert had stated, "We are trying to build a guerrilla force in an urban environment. We are actively organizing sedition."

The militant mood of SDS was certainly obvious at its June, 1968, national convention in East Lansing, Michigan. Workshops were held on sabotage and explosives, self-defense, and internal security. At the workshop dealing with sabotage and explosives, the participants discussed such things as disrupting Selective Service, interfering with police facilities, and using various incendiary devices.

At a National Council meeting of SDS held in Boulder, Colorado, in early October, 1968, copies of a pamphlet captioned "Sabotage," setting forth detailed information on how to make bombs and incendiary devices, were left on the stage of the auditorium where the meeting was held. It is significant that there have been widespread bombings and arson of ROTC establishments on college campuses and at government installations since the issuance of this pamphlet.

Proposal to Broaden SDS Membership

A pamphlet prepared in 1968 entitled "SDS, an Introduction" has been distributed at numerous colleges and high schools in the United States. It points out that by early 1965 SDS had fewer than 2,500 members with chapters on less than 40 campuses, but that at present there are over 40,000 national and local SDS activists and more than 300 chapters in universities across the country.

The pamphlet states that the bitter, yet powerful, experience with American politics in the 1960's has moved the SDS away from the original left-liberal stance and today the SDS is a mass radical and anti-imperialist student movement. According to the pamphlet, the critique that the SDS is developing

of American corporate capitalism makes necessary activist and revolutionary politics for the New Left.

While the SDS has for a number of years advocated the necessity to "radically transform" the university, it has only been recently that it has made a concerted effort to develop followers in high schools. This program was set forth at the SDS National Council meeting at Boulder, Colorado, in 1968. It calls for the appointment by the National Office of SDS of a coordinator of high school SDS activities and instructs that "college and nonstudent chapters of SDS make high school organizing a large part of their program."

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A resolution "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement" was passed at the SDS National Council meeting in December, 1968, as submitted by [redacted] This resolution, among other things, stated that SDS organizers should focus their energies on organizing on campuses of working-class colleges, community schools, trade schools, and technical schools, as well as high schools and junior colleges. The resolution also stated that the SDS should move toward the building of alliances with nonacademic employees on the campus based on the struggle against the common enemy--the university--which should be viewed as a corporation that directly oppresses the working class.

Travels Abroad

Cuba and North Vietnam have been strong magnets for visits by SDS members. Many of those associated with SDS have traveled to North Vietnam in recent years. They include SDS leaders [redacted], and Carl Oglesby.

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In February, 1968, 20 SDS members went to Cuba at the invitation of the Cuban Federation of University Students. While there, these SDS members also talked with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF), which is the political arm of the Viet Cong, and with individuals from North Korea.

In March, 1968, [redacted] went to Cuba where he met with representatives of Communist China, North Korea, and North Vietnam. He was also reported to have had a three-hour conversation with Fidel Castro.

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[redacted], another SDS activist, visited North Vietnam in April, 1968. He and three other SDS members had traveled to Hanoi in November, 1967.

[redacted] made a trip to Cuba shortly before he led the student rebellion at Columbia in the Spring of 1968.

1968 Trip to Cuba

A group of 34 SDS members traveled to Cuba by way of Mexico on August 26, 1968. Upon arrival in Havana, each individual was required to fill out a form giving personal history, including special talents, military service, and current residence and school addresses. The group was provided guides and was given conducted tours of farms, hospitals, power plants, and other installations. During these tours, the difference between prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary accomplishments was continually stressed.

Part of the group met with a representative of the NLF of South Vietnam. This representative, who gave his name as Huynh Van Ba, told his audience that the New Left should conduct more and more demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and should emphasize the number of United States soldiers being killed, the number of planes being shot down, and the cost of the war. He also said that they should issue statements pointing out that the cost of the war was denying a decent living to many people in the United States. He stated that plaques and posters calling for a halt in the bombing of North Vietnam and demanding that United States soldiers be brought home should be displayed during demonstrations.

Continuing, he instructed that New Left groups in the United States should not only organize draft resistance, but should also have people volunteer for service in the Armed Forces in order to perform resistance-type activity from within. He gave as an example of this type of activity the organizing of sit-in demonstrations by servicemen throughout the country.

He cautioned these SDS members to shy away from the use of the word, communism, just as did the revolutionary movements in both Cuba and South Vietnam during the initial stages of the revolution. He explained that the word, communism, connotes something evil to many people in the West. Therefore, he said, they should talk about the new things and the new life that will be available after the revolution. In addition, they should talk about these matters in simple terms, such as free medical care and better living conditions.

The group also was informed that another way of helping the NLF would be through the collection of funds which could be sent to him in Cuba by way of Canada.

During this trip, the SDS members held political discussions among themselves. At one of these discussions, 12 members of the group stated that they would advocate and support the overthrowing of the United States Government by force and violence.

1968 Trip to Budapest

A group of 20 American antiwar activists traveled to Budapest, Hungary, in September, 1968, to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the NLF. Nine of the group from the United States had taken part in the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago a few weeks before this trip. The meetings were organized by David Dellinger, a national leader of anti-Vietnam War demonstrations.

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[redacted]
SDS, was one of those who made this trip. He stated that the meetings centered on the Paris peace talks, on prospects for further student unrest in the United States, and on furthering unrest among American servicemen.

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[redacted]
at Cornell University, was also a participant in these meetings. [redacted] has been convicted in Federal court for destroying his draft registration certificate. [redacted] "The First Issue," which he has described as an underground magazine designed to improve communication among people at Cornell who are opposed to the war in Vietnam. The September 27, 1968, issue of this magazine contained an article by [redacted] captioned, "American Radicals Meet Vietnamese Revolutionaries."

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In this article, [redacted] stated that he was part of a delegation of United States activists who met with five representatives of the NLF and four representatives of the North Vietnamese Government. He wrote that the United States delegation consisted of "twenty SDS and Resistance types" and two United States Army deserters who were working with the American Deserters Committee in Sweden. According to [redacted] the purpose of these meetings was to provide the Vietnamese an opportunity to report on their struggle for self-determination and to provide the group from the United States an opportunity to tell the Vietnamese about the draft-resistance movement on college campuses and in high schools, about organizing among the military, and about the black movement in the United States. [redacted] reported that the Vietnamese were

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knowledgeable concerning antiwar activities in the United States and felt close to those in the antiwar movement in this country, particularly those engaged in resisting the draft.

[] presented a history of the NLF and described methods of organizing among youth and students in both Vietnams, cell organization, political organization in "liberated zones," and underground work.

The organizing of a demonstration was described by [] He wrote that there should be an analysis of the situation at hand and slogans should be devised. A spokesman should be selected and those who would be out in the open and those who would remain in the background should be designated. A determination should be made in regard to methods of resisting in case of repressive action. There should be plans to hold a second demonstration in protest against any repression. Demands should be created, but should not be excessive so as not to do more harm than good. "The enemy" should be persuaded to join the demonstration by including their concerns in your demands. Sometimes, he noted, violence must be used.

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Bratislava Conference

Another so-called "peace" conference was held at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, from September 6 through September 13, 1967. Among the 41 persons from the United States who attended the conference were SDS leaders [] and [], who headed an SDS delegation of nine.

Both North Vietnam and the NLF sent delegations to the conference. After the conference a small group, including [] and two other SDS members, traveled to North Vietnam.

The delegates from the United States to the Bratislava Conference were furnished free lodging and meals while there but were required to pay their own transportation expenses. They were thoroughly briefed by Dellinger well in advance of their departure and were instructed to be prepared to give reports and participate in discussions on various topics, including the antiwar, student, and civil rights movements, and an analysis of the current American political situation. Dellinger told the delegates that the purpose of the conference was to create solidarity and mutual understanding between revolutionaries from Vietnam and their supporters in the United States, and that the delegates were chosen on the basis of their experience in radical activity.

[redacted] wrote articles on the conference which appeared in the October 7 and October 21, 1967, issues of the "New Republic." [redacted] asserted that the majority of those from the United States at the conference were young and in the New Left. He said that they all saw the war as an inevitable by-product of a sickness in the American system which could only be cured by radical political remedies. The most striking fact about the young radicals who identify with the Viet Cong, he wrote, is that they are almost entirely people born after the outbreak of World War II. According to [redacted], the "common bond between the New Left and NLF" is not a common dream or a common experience, but a common enemy: the U. S. Government, the system, the Establishment. The young radicals' admiration for the NLF stems from the feeling that the NLF is resisting the enemy successfully, whereas they are not."

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International Assembly

A letter to the editor in the form of a Call for an International Assembly to be held from September 17 through September 25, 1968, appeared in the August, 1968, edition of the publication "New Politics." The letter was signed by the Columbia Strike Coordinating Committee and the SDS.

This Call noted that the insurrection at Columbia University, the "Easter Actions" in Germany, and the revolution in France in May, 1968, all pointed in one way or another toward the formation of "social anti-capitalist forces" within the various countries. The thought was advanced that the time had come for the creation of a revolutionary theory and this thought promoted the issuance of the Call for an International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements.

According to this letter, the Assembly would deal with two main topics. One would be the stage of the class struggle and the potential of new revolutionary forces in individual countries. The other would be prospects and possible formation of an international revolutionary movement.

This Call noted that the Assembly would allow for the presentation of an internationalist perspective to youth in the United States. The letter stated that representatives from England, France, Canada, Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and the United States were expected to attend the Assembly.

The International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements was held as scheduled on the campuses of Columbia and New York Universities. As many as 1,000 persons attended at least one of the six sessions, although there were no more than 500 individuals present at any given time. Approximately 20 foreign students representing radical and revolutionary student groups in their respective countries attended the Assembly.

An unidentified student from the United States noted that a revolution is in progress because capitalism is dying. He described the American society as corrupt, noted that adherents of the New Left are suppressed in the United States, and emphasized that students must seek allies outside the universities. This individual stated that the university must be destroyed in order to solve the problems in American society. The only question is how this destruction is to be accomplished. One way to destroy the university concept, he added, would be to socialize it.

Subversive Bedfellows of SDS

Since 1962 the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and other subversive organizations have indulged in extensive courtships of SDS--and SDS has not been reluctant to accept the attentions showered upon it by these suitors. Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, made a statement in May, 1965, that SDS is a group which the Party has "going for us."

In an article appearing in the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes" it was stated that every regular reader of this newspaper must be fully aware that there are communists in SDS.

In an Associated Press news story datelined at Chicago, Illinois, on October 17, 1965, the then Attorney General, Nicholas Katzenbach, also was quoted as having disclosed that the Department of Justice had found "some Communists and some persons very closely associated with Communists" working for SDS.

With regard to the \$2 wedding between SDS and the Marxists, it is interesting to note that a most significant change was made in the Preamble to the SDS Constitution at SDS's 1965 National Convention. Prior to the 1965 National

Convention, the Preamble to the SDS Constitution (which was originally adopted in June, 1962) had stated, "Students for a Democratic Society is an association of young people on the left. It seeks to create a sustained community of educational and political concern; one bringing together liberals and radicals, activists and scholars, students and faculty....It feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right." During the 1965 National Convention, the Preamble was amended to eliminate the words "counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic Right."

From the time SDS began to evolve until the present, CPUSA leaders have searched for ways and means to bring the young activists of this group under Party control. The Party resorted to the favorite communist tactic of infiltration. Paradoxically, SDS has accepted CPUSA members in their ranks, but the CPUSA has met with little success in bringing SDS members into its ranks. The student radicals have looked with disdain on the CPUSA for its dogmatic commitments to ideology, discipline based on democratic centralism, and slavish devotion to the Soviet Union--a country run by another form of "the Establishment" in the view of the New Leftists.

In late December, 1965, the SDS held a four-day national membership conference at the Urbana campus of the University of Illinois. At this conference, the view was expressed that the SDS could exert more influence on the CPUSA and the communist-controlled DuBois Clubs than these organizations could exert on the SDS. Consequently, CPUSA members should be accepted as SDS members but should not be elected as officers or placed in positions of influence.

A national convention of the SDS was held during August 27-September 2, 1966, at the Methodist Camp Site at Clear Lake, Iowa. The first three days of this SDS convention were devoted to discussions of various topics in panels and "related workshops." Much interest was generated in the panel which discussed "working with communists." The CPUSA sent National Committee members [redacted] and [redacted] to express its views to this panel. Another participant in this panel represented the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party (PLP). Arguments both for and against participation by CPUSA members in SDS were presented in this panel. It was admitted during the discussion that there were CPUSA members in SDS; however, the panel did not make any recommendations concerning SDS-CPUSA relations.

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[redacted] made a special report on this SDS convention to a three-day CPUSA national youth conference held at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York, in mid-September, 1966. She told her audience that she had led a workshop on the CPUSA at the SDS national convention and that a large amount of CPUSA and DuBois Clubs literature had been sold at this convention. During her report, [redacted] described the new leaders of the SDS, [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted], as persons who are very friendly to the CPUSA.

A two-day meeting of the SDS National Council was held at Wheeler Auditorium on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley in December, 1966. [redacted] stated that one purpose of this meeting was to set guidelines on policy matters for SDS chapters, but he hastened to add that these chapters would remain largely autonomous. It is this lack of centralized control which has contributed to making SDS members undisciplined, uncontrollable, and unpredictable extremists. Because the CPUSA wants to see centralized control in the SDS, it sent one delegate to this National Council meeting with instructions to oppose the structure of the SDS if the opportunity to do so was presented.

An excellent illustration of cooperation between the SDS and the CPUSA on specific issues occurred in October, 1967, when the SDS chapter at the University of Oregon provided the CPUSA with a table for purposes of recruiting and distributing literature on that University's campus. In a prepared statement, the SDS said that it was protesting the appearance on campus of a recruiting officer for the Central Intelligence Agency and that it felt other nonuniversity groups should have the same opportunity to make their views known. When reporters asked University of Oregon officials for a statement concerning the presence of a communist "recruiting" table on campus, they were told that the University had no intention of interfering with it, because "freedom of recruitment" was basically an extension of the University's policy of freedom of speech on campus.

The communist left was well represented among the 800 delegates and observers who attended the SDS national convention from June 9 through June 15, 1968, at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. There were representatives from the CPUSA and PLP, as well as from other subversive groups.

By voting as a bloc, a PLP caucus of 60 to 70 members made a determined but abortive effort to take over this SDS convention.

Two national officers elected at this Michigan convention of the SDS publicly identified themselves as communists "with a small c" to signify that while they are communists, they are a brand apart from the old-line Communists. One of these is [redacted] who was named [redacted]. The other is [redacted] SDS. b6 b7C

In December, 1968, 800 individuals attended a stormy seven-day meeting of the SDS National Council at Ann Arbor, Michigan. The meeting was dominated by a prolonged struggle, which included physical altercations, between the backers of [redacted] and SDS members who are also members of the PLP. b6 b7C

The PLP group came to the National Council meeting prepared for a power play to gain control of SDS even though national officers would not be elected at the meeting. In addition, the PLP had support from [redacted], a 24-year-old graduate of Harvard University and [redacted]. At the 1968 SDS national convention, at which [redacted] was elected, [redacted]. b6 b7C

The struggle between the PLP members and those SDS members backing [redacted] was fought over two main issues-- participation in demonstrations in Washington, D. C., during the period of the Presidential Inauguration and the future composition of SDS. The fact that each of the opposing sides won one issue and lost on the other is a fairly accurate measurement of their relative strength in SDS at that time. b6 b7C

Support of Other Revolutionary Groups

As university reform and antiwar movements gained momentum, SDS influence in the civil rights movement waned. It was soon apparent that the nonviolent stance assumed by some civil rights leaders in early 1966 was totally incompatible with the militant philosophy of SDS. Then, in May, 1966, a new factor emerged, when Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and promptly began to publicize the concept of "black power." Predictably, a strong resolution was passed at the SDS National

Council meeting in June, 1966, which made reference to the long-standing fraternal relations between SDS and SNCC and fully endorsed the philosophy of "black power."

Following through on this new theme, the SDS, at its June, 1967, national convention, adopted a resolution to support "militant, radical and revolutionary groups" regardless of the groups' political ideology. Specifically mentioned were SNCC and the Revolutionary Action Movement, a Peking-oriented, Negro extremist group.

At the SDS National Council meeting held in Austin, Texas, in March, 1969, an educational packet was made available to the delegates. The packet essentially dealt with the black movement in this country and in particular recognized that the Black Panther Party (BPP) is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement today. The leaders of SDS have stated that SDS trails BPP in its revolutionary intentions; hence, it must raise itself to the level of consciousness held by the BPP. The complete support and unquestioned attitude of approval by the leaders of SDS as it relates itself to the BPP was a significant development at this National Council meeting.

SDS Today

SDS held a National Council meeting in Austin, Texas, March 28 through 30, 1969, attended by more than 1,000 individuals.

At this National Council meeting, one of the major trends of SDS was paramount in the discussion: namely, that SDS is more and more taking on a Marxist-Leninist coloration. Slowly, but surely, it is drifting into the orbit of revolutionary thought and action as laid down by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The SDS is a loosely structured organization and hence much debate is occurring as to just what form of Marxist revolutionary activity should be followed.

The PLP advocates a student-worker alliance, that is, a uniting of students on campuses and workers in industry for revolutionary purposes. Following Marxist teachings, the PLP views the "working class" (proletariat) as the vehicle whereby the revolution will be brought about. Hence, in PLP eyes, the SDS should aggressively endeavor to link the campus with the industrial worker.

The CPUSA and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) (through its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance) also advocate the worker-student alliance. Though the three Old Left parties are in violent dispute relative to their own ideological loyalties, being respectively pro-Peking, pro-Moscow and Trotskyite, they mutually agree on the necessity for SDS to follow the historic Marxist-Leninist concept of achieving revolution through the class struggle based on the proletariat.

There is grave danger today - more than ever before - that large segments of the SDS will fall under the control of Old Left parties. Here looms a serious danger to America's national security.

The SDS National Council meeting in Austin, Texas, reflected, however, that many SDSers, though Marxist in ideology, do not want to submit to control and direction from either an internal Old Left party or a foreign communist power, whether it be the Soviet Union, China or Cuba. They seek to create an SDS which is Marxist in content but not restricted by outside control. Whether this can be achieved is highly doubtful.

Even the top leadership of the SDS now realizes that if a revolution is to be brought about, more discipline and organization must be achieved. [redacted] [redacted], has said: "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement."

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The National Council meeting passed a resolution confirming the correctness of the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the NLF of South Vietnam.

SDS is becoming ever more violent. The last year has shown that SDS does not seek compromise or the solution of grievances on university campuses through negotiation and rational discussion of the issues. Rather, it operates on the concept of "non-negotiable" demands, that is, the proclamation of stiff, sweeping demands which are not subject to discussion. In other words, accept the SDS's position or else! This has led to confrontations between the SDS and university authorities --a situation which SDS relishes. SDS seeks to humiliate educational officials, to subject them to all kinds of pressure and to disrupt the whole educational structure.

Future Prospects.

In the days ahead, SDS is expected to concentrate even more on high schools. In large cities where there are college SDS chapters, these chapters often direct and encourage SDS activities in local high schools. Likewise, college SDS leaders help the younger students prepare attacks on school principles and policies, publish "free press" type newspapers and urge disruptive activities inside the school.

The Summer of 1969 is expected to witness a systematic program by SDS to make contact with "workers" in industry. For example, SDS literature has already been issued in this regard. One such brochure sets forth suggestions on how to research the job situation in your area, what jobs to look for and what to expect on the job. After obtaining summer jobs in industry, the brochure tells SDS members how to make contact with workers:

"Remember when you start talking about the (Vietnam) war (and about how students are seriously opposed to the war for good reasons, not simply engaged in 'beatnik pranks') many workers who feel the same way keep silent while those who support the war are many times the most outspoken. Don't get into knock-down, drag-out arguments with the latter, but rather talk individually first to the ones you're making friends with... Know the facts about the war not just the polemics. Facts make a deep impression on workers...

"After being there about a month, try to pick out a few workers who might be more advanced than the rest, concentrating more on individual discussion, with the hope of keeping them as friends or contacts after you leave the place. Talk about the possibilities of the students offering workers assistance in any struggles coming up in the future, on picket lines, demonstrations, even doing research for them."

This is what the SDS is calling a "Work-In" project designed to link students with workers.

The "New Left Notes" issue of May 13, 1969, on page six set forth a significant change in the Preamble to the SDS Constitution. This change reads as follows:

"Students for a Democratic Society is an organization of revolutionary youth. We stand together with the struggles of oppressed peoples throughout the world. We support the just demands of the Black, Asian, and Latin peoples for self-determination. We are part of the international movement against imperialist exploitation and aggression. We oppose the capitalist system and its inevitable by-products, racism and imperialism. We believe that racism must be fought at every turn, for American capitalism, ever since it was founded on the slave trade, has used racism to oppress people of color at home and around the world and to prevent working people within this country from uniting in struggle against their real enemies. American capitalism, in its unending search for bigger profits, has bled the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America--and the working people of this country--of their lives, labor, and natural resources. But the people of the world are rising up in just struggles against imperialism and are defeating the forces of exploitation and oppression.

"SDS, as an organization of youth, recognizes and will fight back against the special ways in which imperialism oppresses young people --we are forced to fight and die in its wars; we are trained by its schools for meaningless or non-existent jobs and divided by channeling; we are taught racist, lying distortions of our history. For our own liberation and for the liberation of people around the world, we have come together in solidarity with the world revolutionary movement."

The mentality of violence and destruction manifested by the SDS, along with its increasing reliance on Marxist-Leninist teachings about revolution, is a mark of the danger facing this Nation from this fanatical group of student incendiaries.

Best Copy Available

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-72663)

5/20/68

SAC, PHOENIX (100-6638) (P)

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RE: [REDACTED]
CO: Phoenix

Re Phoenix letters to San Francisco and Los Angeles dated 2/10/68 and 4/22/68, respectively, both of which yielded completely negative replies. For the information of WFO, one copy of referenced Phoenix letter to Los Angeles bearing essential background data is enclosed for that office.

Attached herewith and constituting the final page of this present letter, is a Xerox copy of a news item concerning the subject. This item appeared in the 6/14/68 edition of "The Voice of South Phoenix," a weekly publication which addresses itself primarily to persons residing in that section of Phoenix, Arizona, a great proportion of whom would be members of the so-called minority groups.

LEADS:

THE LOS ANGELES DIVISION

AT IRVINE, CALIFORNIA

Will determine from records of the University of California at Irvine whether subject did in fact attend that school. Should it be established that he was so enrolled, will obtain and furnish to Phoenix background information concerning him which might be available from DCI files, credit and criminal records, logical security informants and sources.

THE SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

2 - Los Angeles (RM)
2 - San Francisco (100-6638) (RM)
2 - WFO (Enc. 1) (RM)
4 - Phoenix
RGT:ajh (100-6638)
(10) (1 - 100-6033 SDS)
(1 - 100-6283 New Left)
(1 - 105-2683 Cointelpro-New Left)

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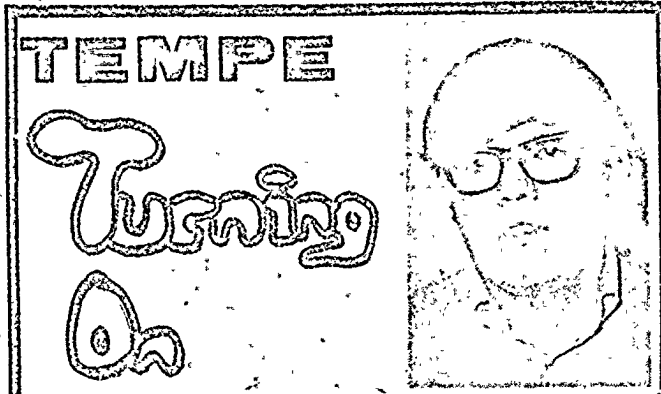
AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

Will recheck records of the University of California, Berkeley, in the light of data contained in the newspaper clipping, and otherwise be guided by those leads set out above for the Los Angeles Division, not already covered and reported in San Francisco letter of April 4, 1950.

THE WASHINGTON FIELD DIVISION

AT WASHINGTON, D.C.

Will check passport records of the U. S. Department of State for any information they may contain regarding the subject.



This first column is not by William Charles Weirich, but about him.

For some time, the VOICE subscriptions in Tempe have been growing faster than in any other section of the valley. And we, in turn, have been looking for just the right person to report on the Tempe scene and dig for the facts behind the news. Of course, the just-right person had to be willing to work for next to nothing. (In fact, so next-to-nothing that nothing, itself, seems good by comparison!) Then, Bill Weirich found us...or something like that.

Bill, himself, got turned on at an early age. The family's black maid started telling Bill and his big sister what things were like on the "other side". By the time Bill had reached 14, he was a rebel who found the authority in high school unjust and unreasonable. His own viewpoints were mixed-up, and at the end of his freshman year, Bill Weirich became a high school dropout.

With his parents' permission, Bill went to California. There, he took a GED test just one month before that state created a minimum age requirement. At fifteen he completed his GED and entered college. "Can't do it today," says Bill, "but it sure turned out to be an easy way to get through high school in one year!"

Bill then finished two years of junior college with an ABA in Psychology. Another two years at the University of California at Irvine got him a BA in Psychology, followed by an MA in the same from Berkeley.

College years were a time of turmoil for Bill. He had been active in the Radical Student Assembly when "long hair became the new nigger." Just before his last sessions at Irvine, he and some friends traveled to Crete, where among other things they lived in caves. This was well before the Life magazine write-ups.

Bill lived in the poorer Black sections of Santa Anna while going to school and knows first-hand the problems of minority peoples. He feels there needs to be a coalition of Black-Brown-youth and everybody. "We have to find people on either side who are not extremists."

Bill believes that the most relevant thing is revolution, but adds that most people get hung up on this word. For change, he says, there needs to be some better form of communication to bridge the gap.

We welcome Bill Weirich to the VOICE. We do not always agree with viewpoints expressed by our columnists and feature writers...But we do feel that freedom to express one's views is urgently important. We censor only the spelling.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

July 24, 1969

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

IDEOLOGY

July 24, 1969

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) provides the main thrust of the new left movement. Current policy proposals issued by SDS national leaders illustrate the hard-line Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideology they are increasingly injecting into the new left movement.

The influence of the pro-Chinese Progressive Labor Party (PLP) in SDS had been increasing steadily in recent years. During the SDS National Convention in Chicago, Illinois, June 18-23, 1969, the national leadership, fearing a takeover by the numerically superior delegates of the PLP faction, departed the convention site, held elections for national officers, and announced the PLP faction had been kicked out of SDS. The PLP faction elected a separate slate of national officers and set up headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

PLP presents a dogmatic, doctrinaire approach to Marxism-Leninism. SDS can be described as being somewhat less concerned with theory and much more inclined toward action and violence. While PLP and SDS espouse different programs at times, both nevertheless openly advocate and promote basic, hard-line Marxist-Leninist revolution to overthrow the free society of our Nation.

The confrontation between the national officers of SDS and the PLP faction brought the ideology issue to the forefront. It also caused factionalism among those remaining within the SDS organization as to the direction SDS should take to most effectively participate in the world-wide Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement. The predominant group, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and including [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], published a position paper titled "You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows," in the June 18, 1969, issue of the SDS publication, "New Left Notes." This statement is a clear call to revolutionary action and contains thirteen topical headings, as follows:

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

- "I. International Revolution"
- "II. What is the Black Colony?"
- "III. The Struggle for Socialist Self-Determination"
- "IV. Black Liberation Means Revolution"
- "V. Anti-Imperialist Revolution and the United Front"
- "VI. International Strategy and the Black Vanguard"
- "VII. The Revolutionary Youth Movement: Class Analysis"
- "VIII. Why a Revolutionary Youth Movement?"
- "IX. Imperialism is the Issue"
- "X. Neighborhood-Based City-Wide Youth Movement"
- "XI. The RYM and the Pigs"
- "XII. Repression and Revolution"
- "XIII. The Need for a Revolutionary Party"

Briefly, the statement defines the "international revolution" as all forces opposing "U. S. imperialism" and calls for support of all nationalistic revolutions. The "black colony" is described as an "internal colony within the confines of the oppressor nation" with the same goals and objectives as the oppressed people of the world. Negroes in the United States, as a "black colony," have the right of self-determination, to organize separately, as the struggle for self-determination is the same as the struggle for socialism. The statement contends the "vanguard" role of Vietnam and other "Third World countries" in defeating "U. S. imperialism" is clear, and the "black colony" is part of the "vanguard." A broad-based revolutionary youth movement (RYM) is considered essential as a transitional strategy to develop a revolutionary movement which will support the Negro "vanguard" of revolution in the United States, which in turn supports and is supported by nationalist revolutions of oppressed people throughout the world.

The statement urges that schools and colleges be closed down because "...kids are ready for the full scope of militant struggle..." and reasons the schools do not aid the cause of revolution. It advocates raising impossible issues, then "...pointing to the only possible solution to the present situation: 'Shut it down!'."

Finally, and of most importance, the statement calls for "...a (clandestine) organization of revolutionaries, having also a unified 'general staff'; that is, combined at some point with discipline under one centralized leadership. Because war is political, political tasks--the international communist revolution--must guide it. Therefore, the centralized organization of revolutionaries must be a political organization as well as military, what is generally called a 'Marxist-Leninist' party."

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

To synopsise, the statement clearly calls for formation of a broad-based revolutionary youth movement which will actively support the revolutionary leadership role of the Negro in the United States and evolve into a clandestine, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of sufficient strength to defeat the United States Government by violent means.

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The other faction of the SDS National Office, headed by [redacted] and current member of [redacted], and including [redacted] and [redacted], issued a statement titled, "Revolutionary Youth Movement II," published in the July 8, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes." This statement is an ideological discourse on the primary role of youth in the formation of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement which will support nationalistic revolutionary struggles against "U. S. imperialism" throughout the world. This statement relates, "The youth movement is not a stage, or a temporary rebellion. It will fight to the end." It calls for the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party led by the youth, which will represent the interests of the proletariat, and armed struggle to achieve victory. Stress is placed on the revolutionary youth movement's bringing more and more working class youth into its ranks to win the proletariat to the revolutionary cause. The statement supports the right of the Negro revolutionary to self-determination and calls for "...linking the fight against imperialist aggression in Vietnam with the fight against imperialist repression of black and Puerto Rican liberation struggles...." Concerning our schools and colleges, the statement advocates changing the school system totally "...to turn out of the schools an army of youth to fight against imperialism." The statement of the [redacted] faction stresses study and education, with emphasis on the classical definition of the working class as the correct means to attain revolution.

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In addition to the foregoing ideological statements, a document titled "Unity Principles of the RYM" was submitted by [redacted] to the SDS National Convention in June, 1969, for debate and approval. No action was taken on the document; however, it was printed in the July 8, 1969, issue of "New Left Notes." This document is relatively brief and sets out the following topical headings:

- "1. Oppose White Supremacy. Full Support to the National Liberation Struggles of the Oppressed Peoples Against U. S. Imperialism. For the Right of Self-Determination for the Black and Chicano Nations, Independence for Puerto Rico."

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

- "2. Oppose Male Supremacy. Support the Struggle for Women's Liberation."
- "3. Support for Armed Struggle"
- "4. Exclude Anti-Communism"
- "5. Fight for Socialism"

Essentially, this document calls for support of nationalistic revolutions against the "U. S. oppressor nation" and carrying the struggle against "U. S. imperialism" from within. It also calls for education of Americans to "prepare them and ourselves to wage a determined struggle with arms in hand to destroy U. S. imperialism in its lair" and to organize a "revolution based on Marxist-Leninist principles, and to advocate and fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

FBI PHOENIX

10:54PM URGENT 10/10/69 RLB

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: PHOENIX (105-2964) (10P)

VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
VIDEM.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE ON AUGUST EIGHT LAST ADVISED
THAT MATERIAL PASSED OUT AT A CONFERENCE ON STRATEGY AND
TECHNIQUES OF NONVIOLENCE HELD AT ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
(ASU), TEMPE, ARIZONA, ON [REDACTED] LAST INCLUDED A
LETTER SIGNED BY [REDACTED]. IT READ IN
PART AS FOLLOWS:

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QUOTE TO ALL ARIZONA PEACE GROUPS: [REDACTED]

b7D

END OF PAGE ONE

- 1 - Secret Service, Phoenix (RM) (By FD-342)
 - 1 - United States Attorney, Phoenix (RM) (By FD-342)
 - 1 - 115th MI Group, Phoenix (RM) (By FD-342)
 - 1 - NISO, Yuma, Arizona (RM) (By FD-342)
 - 1 - OSI, Kirtland AFB, New Mexico (RM) (By FD-342)
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1 - 100-2195 (SWP)
1 - 100-5997 (VIDEM)
1 - 100-6033 (SDS)
1 - 100-6283 (New Left)
1 - 100-6444 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-6545 (YSA)
1 - 100-6550 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-6746 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-6785 (APC)
① - 105-2683 (Cointelpro)
1 - 105-2958 (NMC)

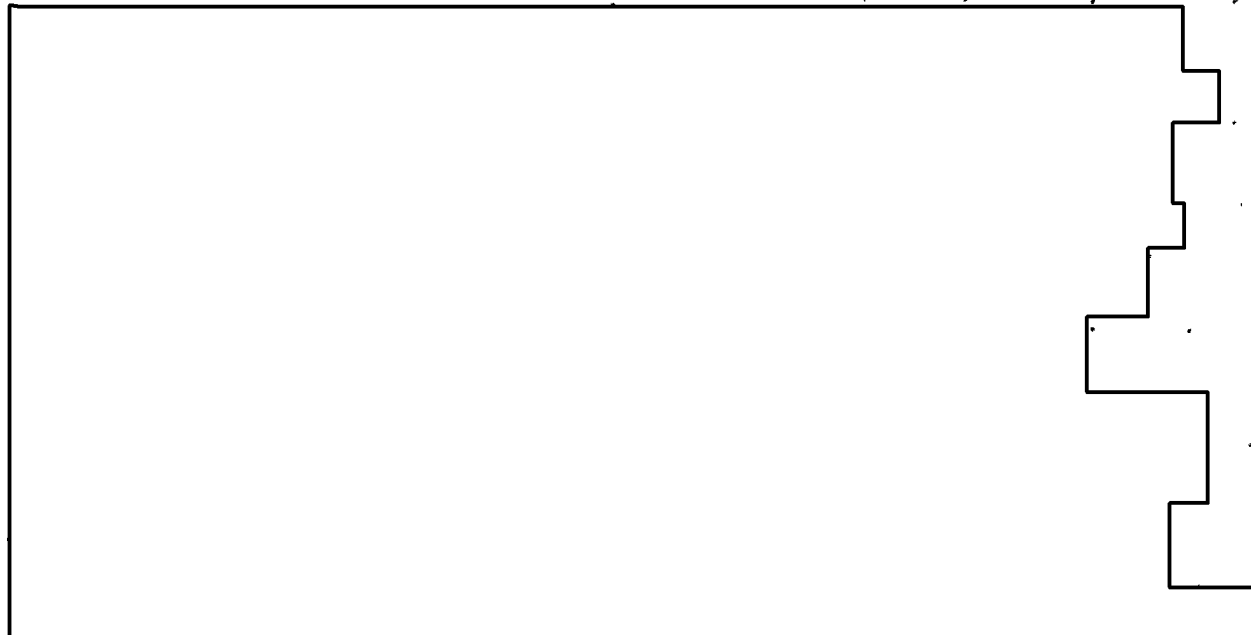
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PAGE TWO

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UNQUOTE.

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[REDACTED] DOCUMENT WENT ON TO RELATE THE COMPLETE
TEXT OF THE ANTI-WAR ACTION PROPOSAL AGREED ON AT CLEVELAND.
HE EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS THROUGH PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS
RATHER THAN VIOLENT TACTICS THAT RESULTS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED.
AND CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT THE NOVEMBER FIFTEEN DEMONSTRATIONS
END OF PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

PX 105-2964

SHOULD BE DISCUSSED BY ALL ARIZONA PEACE GROUPS AND STATED
QUOTE THEREFORE, I CALL UPON YOU TO SEND A DELEGATE FROM
YOUR GROUP TO AN ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING OF THE ARIZONA PEACE
COALITION TO BE HELD IN EARLY SEPTEMBER UNQUOTE.

IN THE COURSE OF A PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION, ARIZONA
SECRETARY OF STATE WESLEY BOLIN ADVISED AUGUST FIFTEEN
NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT THAT [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED] NAMED BY AND FOR THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY (SWP) IN ARIZONA RELATIVE TO THE NINETEEN
SIXTYEIGHT ELECTIONS AND HAD ALSO IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS

[REDACTED].

THE SWP HAS BEEN DESIGNATED PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE
ORDER ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE ZERO.

b6
b7C
b7D

ON SEPTEMBER TWENTYTWO LAST, A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL
SOURCE ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] LAST. MEETING
WAS CHAIRED BY [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]. APPROXIMATELY
END OF PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

PX 105-2964

[REDACTED] AND IT WAS INDICATED THE NEW COALITION WOULD CONSIST OF THE VARIOUS ANTI-WAR GROUPS IN ARIZONA, INCLUDING STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AND YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE. PRINCIPAL TOPIC OF DISCUSSION AT THE MEETING WAS A MORATORIUM ON BUSINESS AND SCHOOLS EXPECTED TO BE HELD IN THE PHOENIX AND TUCSON AREAS, OCTOBER FIFTEEN NEXT. NO SPECIFIC DETAILS CONCERNING THESE ACTIONS WERE DECIDED UPON AT THE MEETING. THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION WHATEVER OF PLANS FOR VIOLENCE ON CAMPUSES OR ELSEWHERE.

[REDACTED] WHO HAS DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS QUOTE [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] UNQUOTE, HAS WITHING RECENT WEEKS LED QUIET, UNEVENTFUL PEACE VIGILS IN PHOENIX, THESE VIGILS BEING SPONSORED OSTENSIBLY BY THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION AND FEATURING QUOTE READING OT THE WAR DEAD UNQUOTE.

END OF PAGE FOUR

PX 105-2964

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

THE SECOND SOURCE ON OCTOBER THREE LAST ADVISED

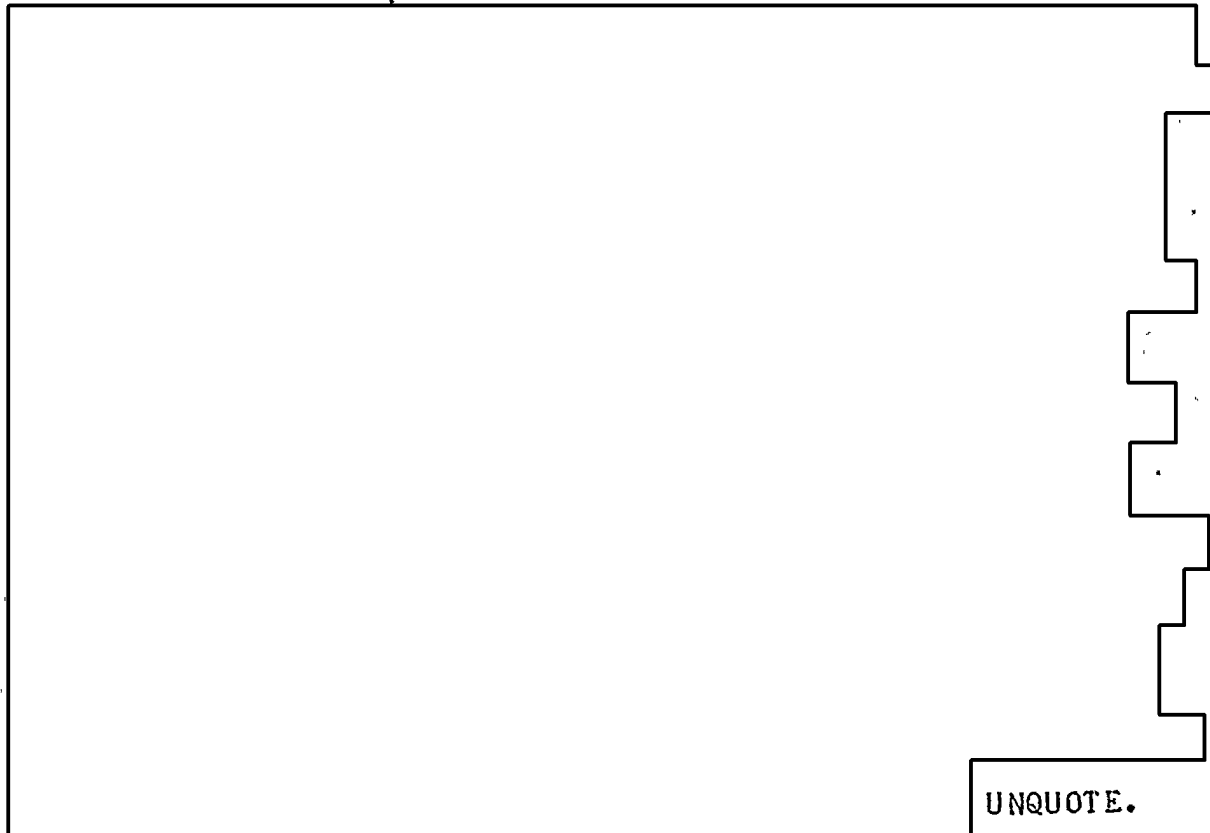
b7D

END OF PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX

b7D

PX 105-2964



UNQUOTE.

b6
b7C

THE PAMPHLET ALSO NOTED THAT IN TEMPE ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION MIGHT BE OBTAINED FROM [REDACTED] AND LISTED TWO
TELEPHONE NUMBERS FOR HIM.

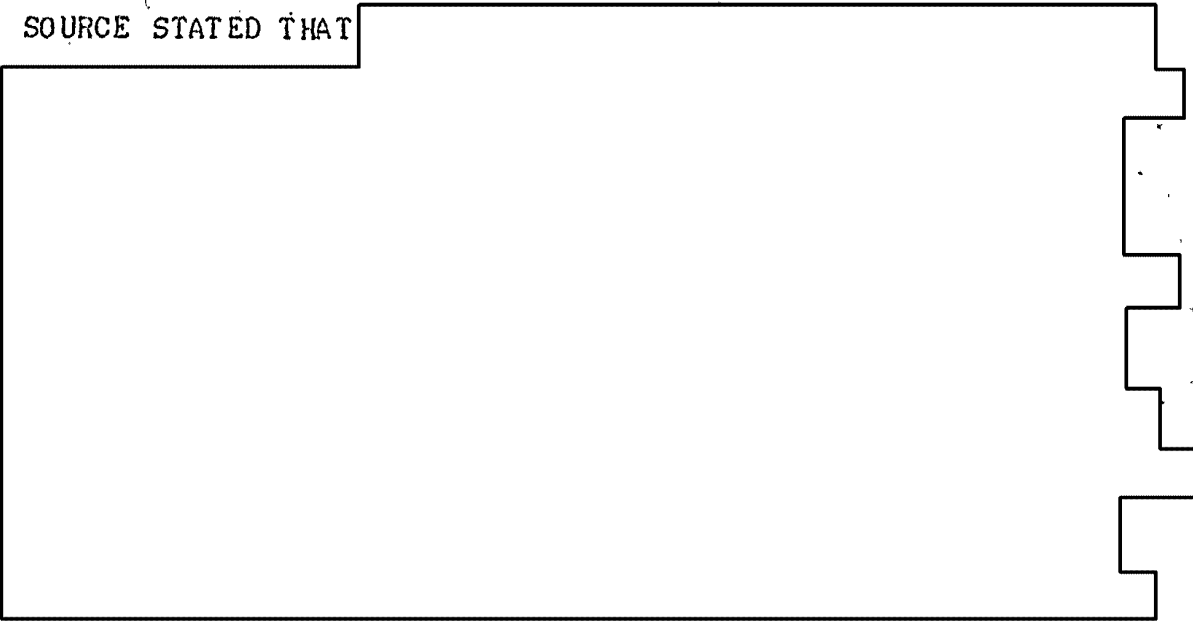
END OF SIX

PAGE SEVEN

PX 105-2964

AN ITEM WHICH APPEARED IN THE QUOTE STATE PRESS
UNQUOTE, STUDENT NEWSPATER AT ASU, ON OCTOBER SEVEN LAST,
QUOTED THE UNIVERSITY'S ACADEMIC VICE-PRESIDENT AS SAYING
QUOTE NO AUTHORIZATION HAS BEEN GIVEN FOR DISMISSAL OF
UNIVERSITY CLASSES OR THE CLOSE OF UNIVERSITY OFFICES ON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER FIFTEENTH UNQUOTE.

ON OCTOBER NINE LAST, A FOURTH CONFIDENTIAL
SOURCE STATED THAT



b6
b7C
b7D

END OF PAGE SEVEN

PAGE EIGHT

b7D

PX 105-2964

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
NEWSPAPERS AT TUCSON, ARIZONA HAVE REPORTED THAT
SOME STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA (UA) WILL BOYCOTT
CLASSES ON OCTOBER FIFTEEN NEXT AND ALSO THAT THERE WILL BE
PICKETING AT THE SCHOOL'S GATES, A MARCH TO THE DRAFT BOARD
OFFICE OR THE FEDERAL BUILDING IN DOWNTOWN TUCSON AND
THERE, A READING OF THE WAR DEAD. ON OCTOBER EIGHT LAST,

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] UA, ADVISED THAT NO VIOLENCE
WAS EXPECTED IN CONNECTION WITH THESE EVENTS AND THIS EXTIMATE
WAS CONCURRED IN BY THE SECOND SOURCE.

ALL OF THE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES MENTIONED ABOVE HAVE
FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST.

ADMINISTRATIVE. RE PX TEL TO BUREAU, SEPTEMBER
TWENTYSIX LAST.

THE FOREGOING SHOULD BE CLAMSSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
END OF PAGE EIGHT

PAGE NINE

PX 105-2964

BECAUSE IT CONTAINS INFORMATION FURNISHED BY LIVE SECURITY SOURCES AND INFORMANTS OF CONTINUING VALUE AND UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF DATA CONTAINED IN THIS TELETYPE MIGHT REASONABLY RESULT IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF THESE PERSONS, COMPROMISING THEIR FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS.

THE FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]. THE SECOND

SOURCE IS [REDACTED] THE THIRD SOURCE IS

[REDACTED] METROPOLITAN
POLICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D.C. THE FOURTH SOURCE IS

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

IN DISSEMINATION MADE AT SOG LEVEL IT IS REQUESTED THE BUREAU FURNISH ONE COPY OF HTIS TELETYPE TO WFO, THE APPARENT OFFICE OF ORIGIN.

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED. XEROX COPIES THIS TELETYPE WITH ADMINISTRATIVE DATA DELETED AND APPENDIX SHEETS REGARDING
END OF PAGE NINE

PAGE TEN

PX 105-2964

SDS AND YSA ADDED BEING DISSEMINATED LOCALLY TO SECRET
SERVICE, U.S. ATTORNEY, AND ONE ONE FIVE MI GROUP, ALL
PHOENIX, NISO, YUMA, ARIZONA AND OSI, KIRTLAND, AFB,
NEW MEXICO.

END

CSV

CORRECTION PAGE FOUR, LINE THREE CLASSSS SHOULD READ CLASS
ALSO PAGE FOUR SECOND PAR., LINE FOUR WITHING SHOULD BE WITHIN
ALSO PAGE EIGHT LAST LINE, CLAMMSSIFIED SHOULD BE CALLIFIEXX
CAXX CLASSIFIED

END

SVM

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FBI PHOENIX

1223 PM URGENT 11-13-69 LYH

TO DIRECTOR

FROM PHOENIX 105-2964 8 PGS

VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE; INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS;
VIDEM.

THIS TELETYPE HAS REFERENCE TO AND SUPPLEMENTS THAT
CAPTIONED AS ABOVE AND DATED AT PHOENIX, OCTOBER TEN LAST.

A (LOCAL NEWSPAPER, QUOTE EIGHT DASH TWENTY VOICE
OF THE CITY UNQUOTE FORMERLY QUOTE THE VOICE OF SOUTH PHOENIX
UNQUOTE AND DIRECTED CHIEFLY AT PERSONS RESIDING IN THAT
SECTION OF TOWN, CARRIED THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENTS IN ITS
ISSUE OF NOVEMBER SIX LAST:

QUOTE MORATORIUM ACTIVITIES ON ASU CAMPUS, DISCUSSIONS
OF WAR, LEAFLETING THURSDAY, NOVEMBER THIRTEEN. VIETNAM
MORATORIUM MARCH STARTS AT MONTEREY PARK, FOURTH STREET AND
OAK. NOONTIME SPEAKERS: [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

BRING FRIENDS!-----FRIDAY, NOVEMBER FOURTEENTH, ASSEMBLE FOR
MARCH. AT NINE THIRTY - ARRIVE FEDERAL BLDG. NOON UNQUOTE.

END P 1

- 1 - Secret Service, Phoenix (By FD-342) (RM)
 - 1 - USA, Phoenix (By FD-342) (RM)
 - 1 - 115th MI Group, Phoenix (RM) (By FD-342)
 - 1 - NISO, Yuma (By FD-342) (RM)
 - 1 - OSI, Kirtland AFB (By FD-342) (RM)
- COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

105-2683

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Taylor

105-2683-48

PX 105-2964

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COPIES CONTINUED:

100-6444 ()
100-6746 ()
100-6033 (SDS)
100-6545 (YSA)
100-6785 (APC)
100-6283 (New Left)
100-5997 (Videm)
100-6225 (SMC)
105-2683 (Cointelpro)
105-2958 (NMC)
PGT:gjk
(15)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PX 105-2964

P 2

IN AUGUST, SIXTYNINE, [REDACTED] IN THE
COURSE OF A SEPARATE INVESTIGATIVE MATTER, IDENTIFIED HIMSELF
TO SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI AS BEING [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] AFL - CIO.

IN CONNECTION WITH ANOTHER PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION,
A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE RELATED JANUARY EIGHTEEN SIXTYEIGHT
THAT ACCORDING TO MATERIAL WRITTEN AND DISTRIBUTED BY [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] UNDER DATE OF JANUARY FIFTEEN SIXTYEIGHT SEEKING
SUPPORT FOR THOSE ACCUSED, [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

INCLUDING DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK, WHO HAD BEEN INDICTED FOR
CONSPIRING TO PERSUADE YOUNG MEN TO DEFEY SELECTIVE SERVICE
LAWS AND EVADE MILITARY SERVICE.

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST THAT
APPLICATION FOR THE PERMIT TO PARADE IN PHOENIX, NOVEMBER
FOURTEEN NEXT HAD BEEN MADE [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] THE LATTER PERSON
BEING A [REDACTED] WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN LOCAL
END P 2.

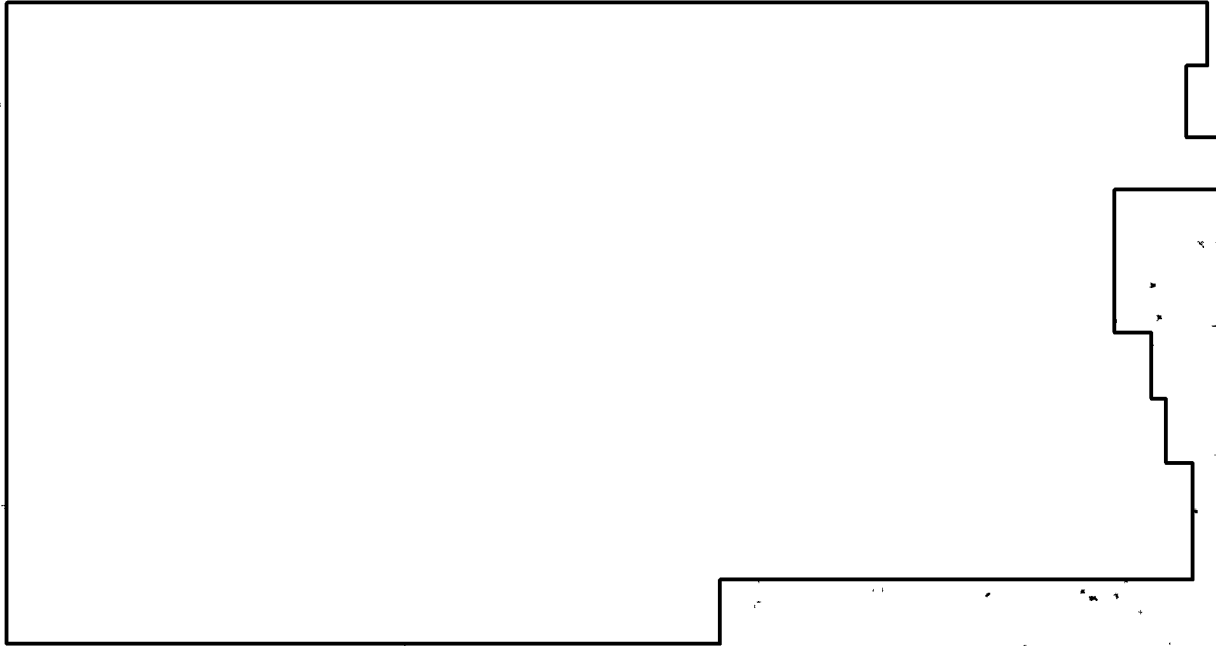
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PX 105-2964

b6
b7C
b7D

P 3



A THIRD SOURCE STATED ON NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST THAT HE FELT THE DOMONSTRATORS IN PHOENIX ON NOVEMBER FOURTEEN NEXT WOULD NUMBER ABOUT ONE THOUSAND AND THAT MANY WOULD BE RECRUITED FROM AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS.

b6
b7C

NONE OF THESE THREE SOURCES AS OF NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST HAD RECEIVED ANY INDEPENDENT INFORMATION THAT
END P 3

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PX 105-2964

P 4

WOULD IN FACT BE COMING TO PHOENIX FOR THE RALLY. INFORMATION ABOUT THE EVENT CURRENTLY BEING PASSED OUT ON ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY (ASU) CAMPUS MENTIONS ONLY QUOTE SPEAKERS UNQUOTE WITHOUT NAMING ANYONE. THE SAME LEAFLET INDICATES REGARDING THE ACTIVITIES ON ASU CAMPUS, NOVEMBER THIRTEEN INSTANT, QUOTE THURSDAY, ONE. STUDENTS AND FACULTY WILL BE ASKED TO INDICATE SUPPORT FOR THE MORATORIUM BY: A. WEARING ARM BANDS IN CLASS. B. DISCUSSING NOXON'S NOV. THIRD ADDRESS IN CLASS IN LIGHT OF THE CURRENT PEACE ACTIVITIES (OR OTHER WAR-RELATED TOPICS). TWO. A RALLY WILL BE HELD ON CAMPUS IN FRONT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE BLDG. BETWEEN ELEVEN THIRTY AND ONE IN WHICH THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES ARE PLANNED. A. PLANTING OF AN OLIVE TREE FOR PEACE. B. READING OF DEDICATION. C. ANNOUNCEMENT OF FRIDAY'S MARCH ON THE FEDERAL BLDG. D. ANNOUNCEMENT OF THURSDAY'S PERFORMANCE OF THE PLAY QUOTE VIET ROCK UNQUOTE. E. SINGING OF FOLK SONGS. THREE. PERFORMANCE OF THE PLAY QUOTE VIET ROCK UNQUOTE AT EIGHT FIFTEEN IN PAYNE AUDITORIUM
END P 4

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PX 105-2964

P 5

IN THE EDUCATION COMPLEX-ADMISSION FIFTY CENTS A PERSON UNQUOTE.

CONCERNING THE NOVEMBER FOURTEEN NEXT ACTIVITIES, THE LEAFLET CALLS FOR A GENERAL STRIKE ON ALL SCHOOLS IN THE VALLEY; ASKS THAT FACULTY AND STUDENTS BOYCOTT CLASSES AND PARTICIPATE IN THE SCHEDULED MARCH ON THE FEDERAL BUILDING IN DOWNTOWN PHOENIX. IT INDICATES THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD MEET IN MONTERREY PARK, FOURTH AND OAK STREETS, BETWEEN NINE THIRTY AND ELEVEN AM FOR THE MARCH TO THE FEDERAL BUILDING WHERE THERE WILL BE A RALLY WITH SPEAKERS AT TWELVE FIFTEEN PM.

THE LEAFLET IS HEADED QUOTE SCHEDULE OF THE THURSDAY AND FRIDAY MORATORIUM AND SMC ACTIVITIES UNQUOTE. EARLIER, ON OCTOBER EIGHT LAST, THE FIRST SOURCE MENTIONED ABOVE ADVISED THAT THE SMC (STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE) WAS NEW ON THE LOCAL SCENE, THAT INDICATIONS WERE IT WAS A CREATION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA) AND WOULD BE USED IN SERVING THE AD HOC PURPOSES OF THE YSA. SOURCE ADDED THAT
END P 5

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

PX 105-2964

P 6

[REDACTED] AT ASU, WAS VERY
ACTIVE IN VIETNAM MORATORIUM PREPARATIONS AND ACTIVITIES.

ON NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST, THE FIRST SOURCE EXPRESSED
THE OPINION THAT PERTINENT ASU CAMPUS ACTIVITIES ON NOVEMBER
THIRTEEN SIXTYNINE WOULD BE DEVOTED (PRINCIPALLY TO AROUSING
INTEREST IN THE FOLLOWING DAY'S DEMONSTRATION IN PHOENIX.

HE ADDED THAT [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

END P 6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PX 105-2964

P7

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] THE FIRST SOURCE
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

ALL OF THE CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES MENTIONED ABOVE
HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] ARE BOTH CHARACTERIZED IN SOME
DETAIL IN THE PHOENIX TELETYPE OF REFERENCE.

ADMINISTRATIVE. THE FOREGOING SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ BECAUSE IT CONTAINS INFORMATION FURNISHED BY LIVE
SECURITY SOURCES OF CONTINUING VALUE AND UNAUTHORIZED
DISCLOSURE OF DATA CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION MIGHT
REASONABLE RESULT IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF THESE PERSONS,
COMPROMISING THEIR FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS.

b6
b7C
b7D

THE FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THE THIRD SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

END P 7

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

PX 105-2964

P 8

[REDACTED]

IN DISSEMINATION MADE AT SOG LEVEL IT IS REQUESTED
THE BUREAU FURNISH ONE COPY OF THIS TELETYPE TO (WFO), THE
APPARENT OFFICE OF ORIGIN.

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED.

LOCAL POLICE, INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER INTERESTED
AGENCIES ARE COGNIZANT.

XEROX COPIES THIS TELETYPE, WITH ADMINISTRATIVE
DATA DELETED AND APPENDIX SHEETS REGARDING SDS AND YSA
ADDED, BEING DISSEMINATED LOCALLY TO SECRET SERVICE, USA AND
ONE ONE FIVE MI GROUP, ALL PHOENIX, NISO, YUMA, ARIZONA DN
OSI, KIRTLAND AFB, NEW MEXICO.

END

MXS

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DATE 03-29-2011

FBI WASH DC*

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FBI PHOENIX

1029PM 11/13/69 URGENT JDD

TO DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON FIELD, AND SAN FRANCISCO
FROM PHOENIX (105-2958)

NEW MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, DEMONSTRATION AT WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER FIFTEEN NINETEEN SIXTYNINE; INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY) VIDEM.

LOGICAL SOURCES THROUGHOUT ARIZONA WERE CONTACTED BEGINNING IN EARLY SEPTEMBER SIXTYNINE AND ALL ADVISED THEY KNEW OF NO PERSONS FROM ARIZONA PLANNING TO GO TO WASHINGTON, D.C. ON NOVEMBER FIVE LAST, HOWEVER, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST AND HAD BEEN ALERTED PREVIOUSLY TO THE PRESENT CASE, RELATED THAT

[REDACTED] ARIZONA WAS ORGANIZING [REDACTED] TO PARTICIPATE IN THE COMPANION DEMONSTRATION SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE THERE ON [REDACTED] NEXT. THEY WERE [REDACTED] OR POSSIBLY MORE THAN

b7D

[REDACTED] AND WERE ENDEAVORING TO RECRUIT ANY INTERESTED

105-2683
END PAGE ONE

1 - Secret Service, PX, RM
(Done By FD-342)

1 - USA, PX ; RM (Done by
FD-342)

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Post
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PGT:gjk

- 1 - 115th MI Group, PX (Done by FD-342)
- 1 - NISO, Yuma, Arizona (Done by FD-342)
- 1 - OSI, Kirtland Air Force Base, RM (Done by FD-342)
- 1 - 100-6545 (YSA)
- 1 - 100-6444 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-6550 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-6656 [REDACTED]
- 100-10052195 (SWP)
- 1 - 100-6283 (New Left)
- 1 - 100-5997 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-6787 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-6033 (SDS)
- ① - 105-2683 (Cointelpro)
- 1 - 105-2964 (VMC)

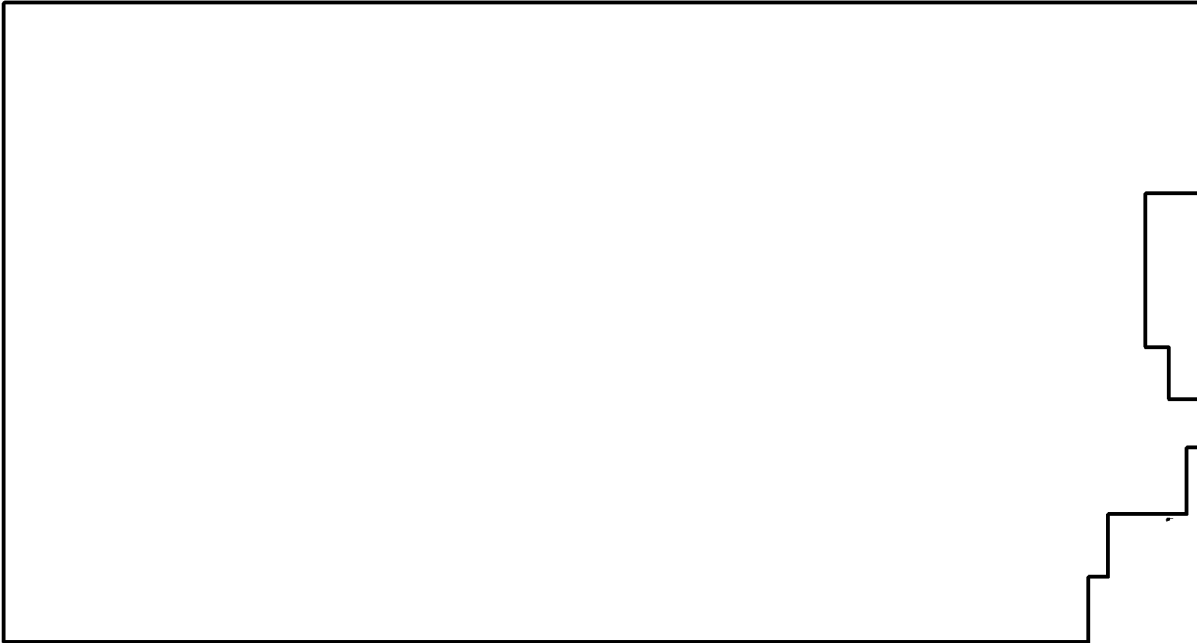
b6
b7C

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(16)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO



b6
b7C
b7D

IN THE COURSE OF A PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION, ARIZONA

b6
b7C
b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED, AUGUST FIFTEEN
SIXTYEIGHT THAT [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
WERE AMONG [REDACTED] AND FOR
THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP) IN ARIZONA RELATIVE TO THE
NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT ELECTIONS AND HAD ALSO IDENTIFIED THEMSELVES

END PAGE TWO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6
b7C

PAGE THREE

AS [REDACTED] RESPECTIVELY OF THE ARIZONA SWP.

THE SWP HAS BEEN DESIGNATED PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE
ORDER ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE ZERO.

ON NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST THE FIRST SOURCE REFERRED TO
ABOVE STATED THAT [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]
THEREAFTER, IT WAS INDICATED.

THAT AS MANY AS [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

SOURCE STATED THAT AS OF NOVEMBER TWELVE LAST, YSA REPORTEDLY

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]. THIS WOULD BE A [REDACTED]
SEDAN DRIVEN BY [REDACTED] IT BEARS ARIZONA LICENSE

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] HAD INDICATED [REDACTED] WOULD LEAVE

b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE THREE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FOUR

IN TIME FOR THE [REDACTED] SOURCE ADDED
THAT SOME PERSONS HAD INDICATED [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

BY THE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS), [REDACTED]

END PAGE FOUR

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nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FIVE

ADMINISTRATIVE. RE PHOENIX TEL TO BUREAU, SAN FRANCISCO AND WFO, NOVEMBER FIVE LAST. PHOENIX AIRTEL TO BUREAU, COPIES TO SAN FRANCISCO, NOVEMBER TEN LAST.

THE FOREGOING SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SINCE IT CONTAINS INFORMATION FURNISHED BY A LIVE SECURITY SOURCE OF CONTINUING VALUE AND UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF DATA CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION MIGHT REASONABLE RESULT [REDACTED] COMPROMISING FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS.

b6
b7C
b7D

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED, UACB.

XEROX COPIES OF THE TELETYPE WITH ADMINISTRATIVE DATA DELETED AND APPENDIX SHEETS RE SDS AND YSA ADDED BEING DISSEMINATED LOCALLY TO SECRET SERVICE, UNITED STATES ATTORNEY, AND ONE ONE FIVE MI GROUP, ALL PHOENIX; NISO, YUMA, ARIZONA, AND OSI, KIRTLAND AIR FORCE BASE, NEW MEXICO.

END

CAH

FBI WASH DC*

X

KCK

SAN FRANCISCO

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FBI WASH DC

FBI PHOENIX

337PM 12-13-69 URGENT RAF

TO DIRECTOR (100-446761)

FROM PHOENIX (100-6225) 5P

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN
VIETNAM (SMC); INTERNATL SECURITY - SWP; VIDEM.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE
INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED ON OCTOBER EIGHT, LAST, THAT
SMC, WHICH WAS A NEWLY REGISTERED ORGANIZATION AT ARIZONA
STATE UNIVERISITY (ASU), TEMPE, ARIZONA, WAS ASSUMING AN ACTIVE
ROLE IN PROMOTING THE VIETNAM MORATORIUM OBSERVANCES SCHEDULED
FOR OCTOBER FIFTEEN, LAST. SOURCE STATED THAT INDICATIONS
WERE SMC WAS CREATION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)
AND WOULD BE USED IN SERVING THE AD HOC PURPOSES OF THE YSA.

b6
b7C
b7D

END PAGE ONE

100-2195 (SWP)
100-5997 (Videm)
100-6283 (New Left)
100-6444
100-6545 (YSA)
PGT:gjk
(9)

100-6656
105-2683 (Cointelpro)
105-2964 (VMC)

b6
b7C

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Indexed

Filed *gmk*

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105-2683-50

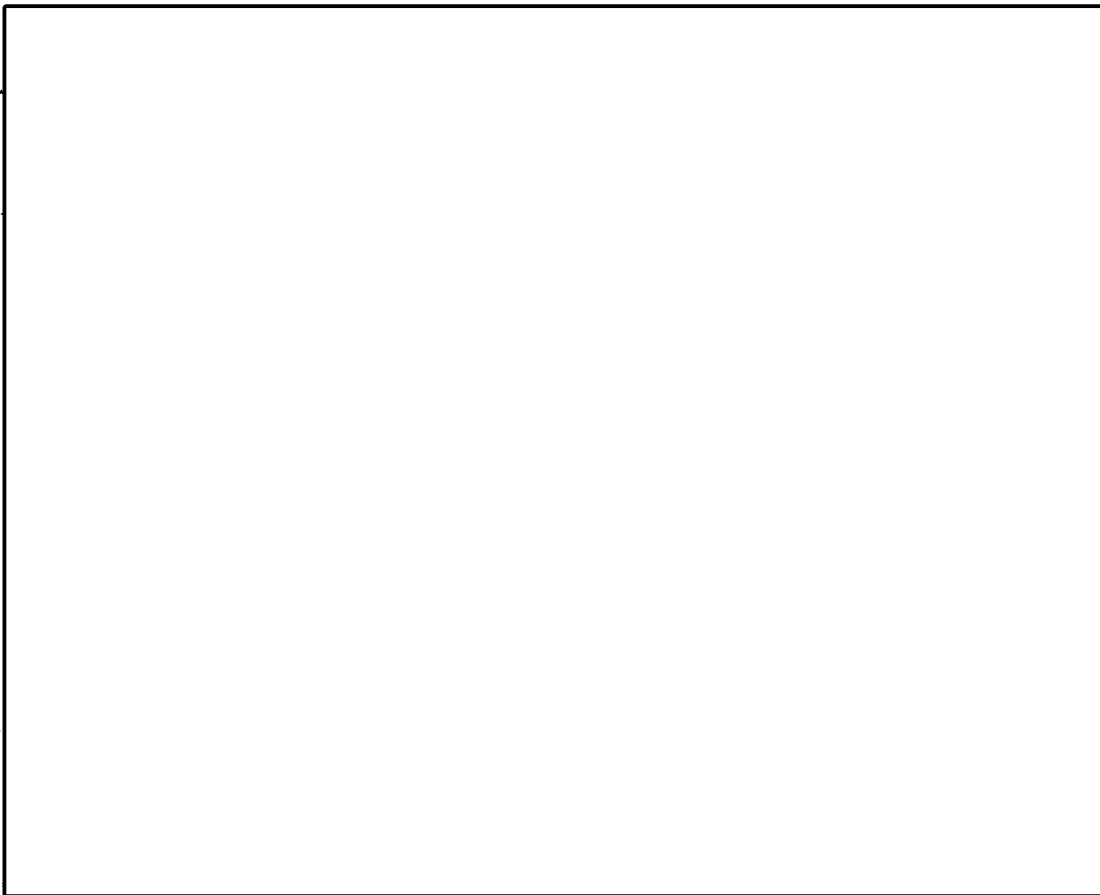
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

ON NOVEMBER THIRTEEN, LAST, THE SOURCE STATED THAT BOTH
SMC AND YSA, UNDER THE APPARENT GUIDANCE OF [REDACTED], WERE
ACTIVE ALSO IN PREPARATIONS FOR [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] AND IN THE PHOENIX AREA.

b6
b7C
b7D

ON DECEMBER ELEVEN, LAST, THE SOURCE REITERATED THAT



b6
b7C
b7D

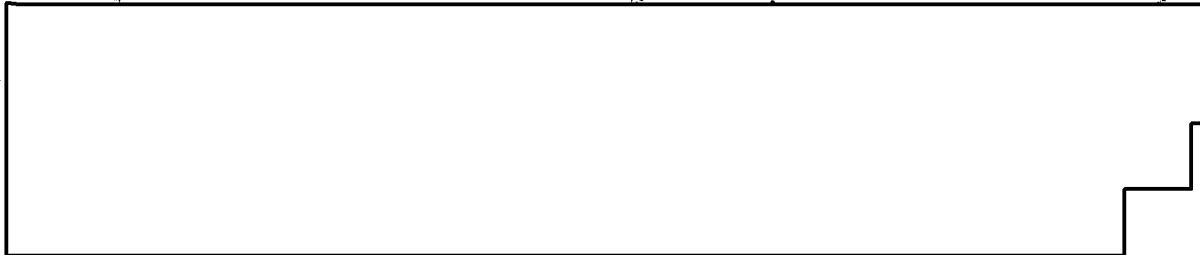
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

PAGE THREE



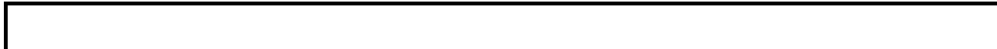
SOURCE STATED THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY MEMBERSHIP

b7D

LIST, [REDACTED]

CONSISTING OF [REDACTED] WHO CONSTITUTE THE
YSA MEMBERSHIP, PLUS ABOUT AN EQUAL NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL
STUDENTS FOR WHOM THE APPEAL OF SMC IS BASICALLY ITS PROFESSED
INTEREST IN "PEACE."

b7D



NEXT,

WILL HAVE PHOTOGRAPHERS PRESENT TO TAKE PICTURES OF INDIVIDUALS
AROUND THERE WHOM THESE PEOPLE BELIEVE TO BE AGENTS OF THE FBI
OR CIA AND THAT SUCH PHOTOGRAPHS MAY EVENTUALLY BE PUBLISHED
IN "THE MILITANT."

END PAGE THREE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FOUR

"THE MILITANT" IS A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP). THE SWP HAS BEEN DESIGNATED PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE ZERO.

IN THE COURSE OF A PREVIOUS INVESTIGATION, [REDACTED] b6 b7C
[REDACTED] STATE OF ARIZONA, ADVISED ON
AUGUST FIFTEEN, SIXTYEIGHT, THAT [REDACTED] HAD
BEEN MOST INFLUENTIAL IN ARRANGING TO HAVE THE SWP PLACED ON
THE BALLOT IN ARIZONA FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF NINETEEN
SIXTYEIGHT AND THAT [REDACTED] IN THIS CONNECTION ALSO SIGNED
[REDACTED] OF THE ARIZONA SWP. b6 b7C

ADMINISTRATIVE. RE BUREAU LETTER TO ALBANY, OCTOBER
TWENTYTWO, LAST, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE, BUDED DECEMBER FIFTEEN,
NEXT; PHOENIX TELTYPE TO BUREAU, DECEMBER ELEVEN, LAST
ENTITLED "VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATIONS,
DECEMBER TWELVE, THIRTEEN AND TWENTYFOUR, NEXT; INTERNAL
SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS; VIDEM."

THE PRESENT TELETYPE SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
END PAGE FOUR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE FIVE

b6
b7C
b7D

SINCE THE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], AN ESTABLISHED SECURITY SOURCE OF CONTINUING VALUE AND UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN MIGHT REASONABLY RESULT IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF THIS INDIVIDUAL, COMPROMISING HIS FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS.

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED. COPY OF THIS TELETYPE BEING FURNISHED NEW YORK BY AIRMAIL, FOR INFORMATION.

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES COGNIZANT. (XEROX COPIES THIS TELETYPE WITH ADMINISTRATIVE DATA DELETED AND APPENDIX SHEET REGARDING YSA ADDED, BEING DISSEMINATED LOCALLY TO ONE ONE FIVE MI GROUP, PHOENIX, NISO, YUMA, ARIZONA, AND OSI, KIRTLAND AFB, NEW MEXICO.

INQUIRY OF ADDITIONAL LOGICAL SOURCES SINCE THE RECEIPT OF REFERENCED BUREAU LETTER HAS REVEALED THE EXISTENCE OF NO SMC GROUP IN THE PHOENIX DIVISION OTHER THAN THE ONE AT ASU AT THE PRESENT TIME.

END

CAH

FBI WASH DC

X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-29-2011

FBI WASH DC

FBI PHOENIX

6:30PM URGENT 12/16/69 RLB

TO: DIRECTOR (100-446761)

FROM: PHOENIX (100-6225) (4P)

STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN
VIETNAM (SMC); INTERNAL SECURITY-SWP; VIDEM.

THIS SUPPLEMENTS PHOENIX TELETYPE TO THE
DIRECTOR DATED DECEMBER THIRTEEN LAST.

THE FOLLOWING WAS RECEIVED ON DECEMBER SIXTEEN
INSTANT FROM A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED
RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST: THE RALLY AND PICKETING
ANNOUNCED BY SMC TOOK PLACE AFTER A FASHION [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], ARIZONA, ON [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] LAST. THE RALLY FEATURED [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] BEFORE ABOUT TWENTY
PERSONS, MOST OF WHOM SEEMED TO BE JUST CURIOUS ONLOOKERS,

END OF PAGE ONE

1 - 100-6225
1 - 100-5997 (Videm)
1 - 100-2195 (SWP)
1 - 100-6283 (New Left)
1 - 100-6785 (APC)
1 - 105-2683 (Cointelpro)
1 - 100-6444 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-6545 (YSA)
1 - 100-6656 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-6746 [REDACTED]
CONFIDENTIAL
1 - 105-2964 (VMC)

PGT:gjk
(11)

RECEIVED
FBI PHOENIX
DEC 17 1969
TELETYPE
100-6225

Searched
Serialized *gm*
Indexed
Filed *gm*

b6
b7C
b7D

b6
b7C

105-2683-51

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE TWO

PX 100-6225

[REDACTED] FOR ITS
COOPERATION WITH THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
AND DEMANDED DISCONTINUANCE OF THE PRACTICE.
AFTER THAT, [REDACTED] URGED HIS LISTENERS TO CONVERGE
ON [REDACTED]
RECRUITERS WERE CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS.

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THIS PLEA FOR ACTION DREW AN IMMEDIATE
RESPONSE FROM [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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BUT DECLINED TO IDENTIFY HIMSELF FURTHER. THEY WERE
LATER JOINED BY [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]
OTHERS DESCRIBED AS QUIET QUOTE PEACE TYPES UNQUOTE
AND CONSIDERED TO BE OF NO SIGNIFICANCE FROM A
SECURITY STANDPOINT. [REDACTED]
REPRESENTATIVES WERE AT LUNCH WHEN THE PROTESTERS
END OF PAGE TWO.

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE THREE

PX 100-6225

ARRIVED AT THE BUILDING. AFTER STANDING AROUND THERE FOR ABOUT TWENTY MINUTES THE PROTESTERS MERELY DISBANDED AND WENT AWAY WITHOUT EVER CONFRONTING A MANUFACTURER'S REPRESENTATIVE.

ALTHOUGH NOT A MEMBER OF THE SMC, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] THIS YEAR AND WHO RECEIVED HIS PREVIOUS EDUCATION AT [REDACTED] WASHINGTON, D.C., HAS LED A NUMBER OF PEACE VIGILS AND ANTI DASH VIETNAM WAR OBSERVANCES IN THE PHOENIX AREA IN RECENT MONTHS. [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] WERE DESCRIBED PREVIOUSLY IN SOME DETAIL.

ADMINISTRATIVE. THE FOREGOING SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SINCE THE SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AN ESTABLISHED SOURCE OF CONTINUING VALUE AND UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE
END OF PAGE THREE

b6
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b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

PAGE FOUR

PX 100-6225

OF INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE TELETYPE MIGHT
REASONABLY RESULT IN THE IDENTIFICATION OF THIS
INDIVIDUAL^S, COMPROMISING HIS FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS.

NO LHM BEING SUBMITTED. COPY OF THIS
TELETYPE BEING FURNISHED NEW YORK BY AIR MAIL
FOR INFORMATION. XEROX COPIES THIS TELETYPE WITH
ADMINISTRATIVE DATA DELETED AND APPENDIX SHEET
REGARDING SMC ADDED, BEING DISSEMINATED LOCALLY
TO ONE ONE FIVE MI GROUP, PHOENIX, NISO, YUMA,
ARIZONA, AND OSI, KIRTLAND AIR FORCE BASE, NEW
MEXICO.

END

VJM

FBI WASH DC

SAC, PHOENIX (100-6638) (P)

12/18/69

SA PAUL G. TAYLOR

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[REDACTED]
SM-SDS
00: Phoenix

After investigation by the San Francisco and Los Angeles Offices revealed this subject's claimed educational background, as attributed to statements by him in Serial 15, to be entirely without basis in fact, [REDACTED] (Reliable - Conceal Identity) advised in October, 1969 that he expected [REDACTED] would shortly be exposed for the phony he is.

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The 'State Press,' ASU student newspaper, in its issue of 12/3/69, ran an article headlined, "Nonstudents Swell Leftist Ranks." The article stated in part, "The real pride of ASU's nonstudent sect is [REDACTED]...The 8/14th issue of The Voice (of South Phoenix) ran a boxed article announcing their new 'right person to report on the Valley scene' with an accompanying photograph of [REDACTED] at home in [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] believes that the most relevant thing is revolution," said the article, which reported [REDACTED] left high school at the end of his freshman year, passed a high school equivalent test in California, received a BA from the University of California at Irvine and a MA in psychology from UC Berkeley. "A check with the records offices of these schools shows [REDACTED] attended Arcadia High School without graduating. There is no record of his attending any college of the University of California."

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The source stated on 12/16/69 that this publicity evidently discredited or at least embarrassed [REDACTED] because he has not been seen on the campus since the day the article was published.

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2 - Phoenix
PGT:gjk (105-2683 Cointelpro)
(2)

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 18 1969	
FBI - PHOENIX	

105-2683-52

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

1/2/70

SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

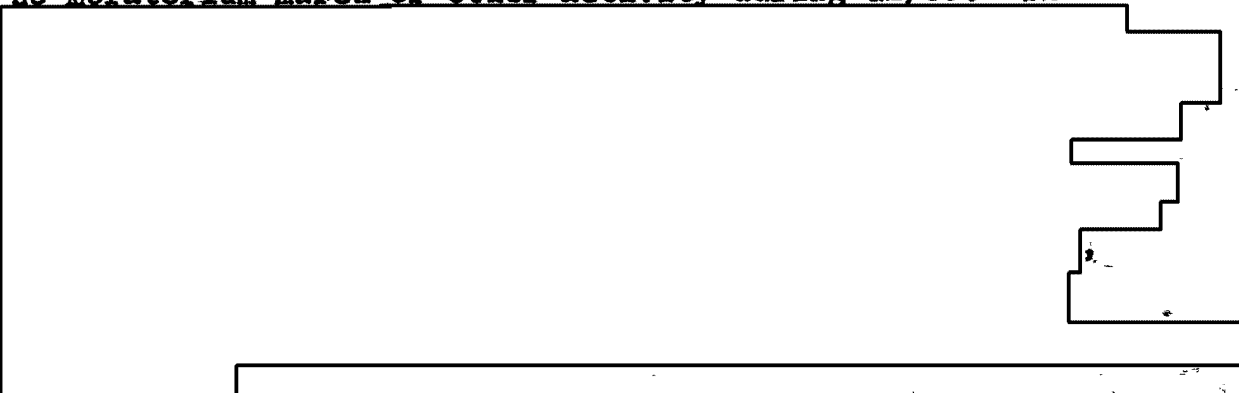
b7D

Remylet, 10/1/69.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

On 12/11/69, [] advised that the Peace and Freedom Associations (PFA), a coalition of the various groups at Tucson, Arizona, publicly opposed to the Vietnam war, planned no Moratorium march or other activity during 12/69. The

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The Phoenix Office is exploring ways to widen the breach between the [] clique and the other "peace" activists in the Tucson area. Any recommendation for specific counterintelligence action in this regard will be submitted to the Bureau by separate letter.

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II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

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As authorized, copies of the two Bureau-authored studies concerning Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) dated 6/4/69 and 7/24/69 respectively, have now been made available to []

2 - Bureau (RM)

② - Phoenix

PGT/rs
(4)

Ray Peters
info. etc.

Searched

Serialized

Indexed

Filed

105-2683-53

PX 105-2683
PGT/rs

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b7D

 Such
dissemination was made with the understanding that the
Bureau was not to be identified as the source of these
documents or any of the material contained therein.

The Phoenix Office, meanwhile, continues to remain
alert for a qualified representative of Phoenix Newspapers,
Inc., who could be counted upon to be both cooperative and
discreet in the event distribution of the two SDS documents
is also made to him.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no further tangible results to
report at this time.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P)

DATE: 2/17/70

FROM : SA PAUL G. TAYLOR

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

The Bureau was informed by Phoenix letter of 1/2/70 that this office would be exploring ways and means to widen a split which has developed within the "peace" movement at Tucson.

The files indicate that Reserve Index subject [] (PX file 100-5394) returned to Tucson during the past year. Lately he has been attending some meetings at headquarters of the Peace and Freedom Associations (PFA) and he is acquainted with [], who is a Security Index subject. [] has an unusual and controversial background which might be used to advantage as a disruptive weapon in the Counterintelligence Program. It is thought that an anonymous letter could be sent to [] regarding [] asking such questions as:

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1. How has he been able to visit and find gainful employment in foreign countries?
2. Despite outward appearances, has [] encountered any real opposition from the United States Government in this connection?
3. Why doesn't he use the surname he was born with?
4. Why has the effectiveness of various PFA programs and projects worn off since [] has been coming around?

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② - Phoenix
PGT:gjk
(2)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

105-2683-54

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB 17 1970	
FBI PHOENIX	

R. Peters

PX 105-2683
PGT:gjk

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that this memorandum be routed to SA RAYMER P. PETERS, JR. at Tucson in order that the proposal outlined above may be evaluated in the light of local conditions known to him. If concurred in by Tucson Agents most familiar with PFA personalities and developments, this proposal can thereafter be presented to the Bureau for approval.

*Risk deemed greater than possible value to be obtained at this time -
[redacted] are already at odds over leadership of PFA.
JPC*

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b7C

PX 105-2683

WRB:gjk

Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC) and local sources believe that he is the catalyst of meaningful New Left protests on the ASU campus and in the Greater Phoenix area.

[redacted] and a [redacted] in the English Department, has been one of [redacted] campus followers. A statement in the form of a press release circulated locally in February, 1970 and quoted [redacted] as stating he was [redacted] and a member of the YSA since July, 1969, when he "became convinced that the social problems with which I was concerned could not be solved without a socialist revolution."

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[redacted] Phoenix Police Department (PD), advised on 4/6/70, that he had learned that during the course of a meeting of the SMC on the ASU campus on 4/2/70, a comment was made that [redacted].

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The records of the Tempe PD reveal that a complaint was filed with that department by [redacted].

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[redacted] The complaint charged "Disturbing the Peace" and "Threat" against [redacted] and his [redacted].

and [redacted]. The police report reveals that [redacted] had contacted the PD and alleged that he had retained in his apartment a box of YSA literature belonging to [redacted] because he was owed approximately \$70.00 by [redacted] for unpaid telephone bills. On [redacted] said he was convalescing at [redacted] and [redacted] entered his apartment with the assistance [redacted].

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On [redacted] picked up a similar box of literature at YSA Headquarters, 1010 East Lemon, Tempe, which is also the residence of [redacted] claimed that he had free access to the YSA Headquarters.

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PX 105-2683

WRB:gjk

b6
b7C

The police report continued that at approximately [redacted] was awakened at his apartment. He recognized the voice of [redacted] and [redacted] and opened the door. Both [redacted] entered the apartment accompanied by [redacted] said that he sat down and both [redacted] related that they wanted the material returned to them which they claimed was worth \$175.00. [redacted] said that he asked for the money which was owed to him. These three individuals were very loud and shouted at [redacted]. In a short time [redacted] entered the apartment and told [redacted] "It's very simple, [redacted] you either give us the stuff or these two guys work you over." [redacted] said he replied, "Do you want that, [redacted] replied, "No, not what I want but that's the way it has to be." Then he left the apartment. [redacted] told the police officers that he was scared and intimidated by [redacted] and the others due to their loud and threatening behaviour and by the way [redacted] yelled at him. He said that he released to them the YSA literature and they left the area. He told the police that he wished to sign complaints against the above four individuals on Disturbing the Peace.

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At 5:00 P. M. on 4/5/70, the Tempe PD received a call from [redacted] stating that he wished no further action by the police regarding his complaint. He said he had discussed the matter with the persons involved and an agreement was reached and no further action was desired.

On 4/7/70, [redacted] advised that he had been able to determine through a confidential source that [redacted] on 3/31/70 with a diagnosis of [redacted]. He was released from this hospital on 4/3/70.

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[redacted] advised that the episode at [redacted] apartment has become known to the "New Left" community on the ASU campus. [redacted] who was an SDS leader at ASU in 1968-1969 and a supporter of [redacted] was quoted as making the statement that [redacted] should be fired because of this incident.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

b6
b7C

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P.)

DATE: 11-30-70

FROM : SA

SUBJECT: ~~COINTELPRO~~ - NEW LEFT

Re PX Let dated 9/29/70.

No information has come to the attention of the writer since the submission of relet that appears to be appropriate for this matter. The writer will remain alert during the course of "New Left" investigations for a suitable circumstance to utilize for counter-intelligence and will consult the Bureau prior to taking any action.

WRB:wrb
(1)

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Post
WRB
2

105-2683-62

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

WV



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)

12/31/70

SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re Phoenix let, 9/29/70.

I. POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

No information has been developed by Phoenix since the submission of relet that appears to be appropriate to utilize in captioned program. The New Left activities at the two major universities in Arizona will be closely watched in the immediate future and the Bureau will be promptly consulted if a situation develops with counterintelligence potential.

II. PENDING COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION

No Bureau-approved action is presently pending in this division.

III. TANGIBLE RESULTS

There are no tangible results to report at this

time.

2 - Bureau, (RM)

1 - Phoenix

WRB:gjk

(3)

Searched mf

Serialized mf

Indexed mf

Filed mf

105-2683-63

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

b6
b7C

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (P.)

DATE: 1-29-71

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT

Re PX Let dated 12/31/70.

There is no current counter-intelligence action
pertaining to the New Left in this Division.

Recommendation: Follow New Left activities this Division
for any developments suitable under this program. All
programs must be cleared with the Bureau. Also submit
quarterly letters to the Bureau re progress.

WRB:wrp
(2)

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b7C

Post

Reassign to WRB

105-2683-64

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 29 1971	
PHOENIX	



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

b6
b7C

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (C)

DATE: 5/19/71

FROM : SA

CONSOLIDATED

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS)
INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

*2/12/74
JMS*

Re Buairtel, 4/28/71.

By referenced airtel, the Bureau advised that effective immediately the following counterintelligence programs were discontinued:

COINTELPRO - Espionage
COINTELPRO - New Left (105-2683)
COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups (157-338)
COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA (100-5082)
Counterintelligence and Special Operations
COINTELPRO - Black Extremists
Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program (100-2195)

Accordingly, it is recommended all the above-mentioned files be closed.

- 1 - 105-2683
- 1 - 105-2544
- 1 - 157-338
- 1 - 100-5082
- 1 - 100-2195

RS:gjk
()

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under
#17
closed
PS

105-2683 68
ref
JMS

Best Copy Available

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CNW

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)



JOHN LOFTON

FBI Merely Did Job Well

TRY AS I MIGHT, I just cannot get worked up over the fact that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) used so-called "dirty tricks" against the young savages of the New Left.

I cannot agree with Atty. Gen. William Saxbe that efforts to disrupt, expose and neutralize this sleazy bunch were "abhorrent" and "should not be condoned in a free society."

What seems to me to make much more sense is the position of FBI Director Clarence Kelley that to not have engaged in these activities — the overwhelming bulk of which were clearly legitimate and proper undertakings — would have been an abdication of the bureau's responsibilities to the American people. As Kelley points out:

"The purpose of the counterintelligence programs was to prevent dangerous and even potentially deadly acts against individuals, organizations and institutions — both public and private — across the United States."

WHAT THOSE who are now critical of the FBI's tactics seem to forget is what it was like in this country in the late 1960s and early 1970s. By almost any measure, riots, bombings, the murdering of policemen, the theft of explosives and arson were at a dangerous, all-time high.

According to the Senate Government Operations Permanent Investigations subcommittee, there were 602 bombings and attempted bombings nationwide in 1969 and 536 bombings in the first six months of 1970. There were 13 acts of arson or bombings of Federal Government buildings in Fiscal 1969 and 383 in Fiscal 1970.

There were 55 reported thefts of dynamite and other explosive materials totalling 12,381 pounds in 1969 and almost 19,000 pounds were stolen in the first five months of 1970.

Policemen murdered by ambush or other felony attacks numbered 86 in 1969 and 100 in 1970, according to the FBI.

A 1971 study by the radical, New Left publication Scanlon's Monthly, reported 1,324 acts of "sabotage" or "terrorism" against government buildings, corporations, schools, colleges, private homes, and police and military installations from 1965 to July 1, 1970. This study was based on an extensive examination of news accounts in 17 major daily newspapers.

COMMENTING on this tidal wave of domestic disorder, author Kirkpatrick Sale wrote as follows in his book, "S.D.S.," a history of the radical Students for a Democratic Society:

"It is important to realize the full extent of political violence of these years 1968-70 — especially so since the media tended to play up only the most spectacular instances to treat them as isolated and essentially a political gestures, and to miss the enormity of what was happening across the country....

"The scope of this violence was quite extraordinary. It took place on a larger scale — in terms of the number of incidents, their geographical spread and the damage caused — than anything seen before in this country."

Author Kirkpatrick Sale is absolutely correct. It was important to realize the full extent of the political violence of these years. And one who did was the late director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover, who instigated the counterintelligence program against the New Left.

As I say, it's hard to be against the fact that he did and the American people should be thankful that the new director of the bureau, Clarence Kelley, has said that such a program might be necessary again if these same emergency situations arise.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

PAGE 4 YUMA DAILY SUN
YUMA ARIZONA

ORIGINAL SENT
BUREAU 12-11-74

b6
b7C

Date: 12/4/74
Edition: WEDNESDAY
Author:
Editor:
Title: COINTELPRO

Character:

or

Classification: 105-2683 -69

Submitting Office PHOENIX

☒ Being Investigated

SEARCHED <i>KS</i>	INDEXED <i>KS</i>
SERIALIZED <i>KS</i>	FILED <i>KS</i>
FBI - PHOENIX	

12/12/74

Best Copy Available

1/22/75

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)
FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (RUC)
NEW LEFT
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BUDED: 1/24/75

ReBuairtel to AL, 12/24/74.

Phoenix has reviewed its New Left - Cointelpro file
and found no documents classifiable which were not already
classified.

2 - Bureau
1 - Phoenix

GLH:lmq
(3)

MUC
JS

Searched ☒
Serialized ☒
Indexed ☒

FILE STAMPED
2-5-75
Dg

DESTRUCTION DATE 1/21/80
INITIAL JS
RETAIN JS
JUSTIFICATION JS

105-2683-71

Best Copy Available

Self-Defense Spying

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency have been roundly condemned for keeping tabs — "spying", if you prefer — on so-called political radicals. A person's political beliefs, so the reasoning goes, do not warrant invasion of privacy.

This pressure against surveillance could be contributing to the rash of terrorist attacks the nation is experiencing. Last week bombers knocked out a Pacific Gas & Electric Co. electric power plant in San Jose, Calif., setting off five bombs and cutting off service to 35,000 customers. On the same day an estimated \$100,000 damage was caused by explosives in a building in Berkeley which housed an FBI office.

Other bomb blasts occurred in Los Angeles in buildings housing the Panama Government Tourist Bureau and the Costa Rican consulate.

A group calling itself the New World Liberation Front sent a communique to the FBI: "We again attack PG&E on behalf of poor people who see their lives being drained daily by parasite corporations."

A group identifying itself as the Red Guerrilla Family claimed re-

sponsibility for the bombing in Berkeley. The group also sent a communique to the FBI, saying the attack was "in solidarity with the Symbionese Liberation Army and all other comrades under attack from the political police of the Amerikan (sic) capitalist state."

The New World Liberation Front has claimed responsibility for bombing six PG&E electric towers in San Mateo and Alameda counties, saying it was acting to force the utility to cut rates.

Credit for other bombings around the country has been claimed by the Weather Underground, and the various organizations claim to be protesting the Indochina war, government defense spending, high utility rates and treatment of minorities.

All this comprises a relatively small, but exceedingly dangerous revolution against U.S. citizens by what law officers say is a "tough, new type of revolutionary dedicated to violence."

Terror tactics that jeopardize the health and welfare of innocents calls for the best spying job that federal and state agencies are capable of. Quite simply, the nation is under siege.

A-6 PHOENIX GAZETTE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

4/1/75

COINTELPRO

105-2683

105-2683-722

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 7 1975	
FBI — PHOENIX	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

b6
b7C

TO : SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683)

DATE: 7/29/75

FROM : SUPERVISOR [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO

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b7C

For information file, On 7/24/75, [REDACTED] Bureau, Extension 4587, telephonically contacted the writer and requested the identity of Agents who had dictated and signed out certain serials in this file concerning the [REDACTED] matter. He also requested identity of the Agent to whom the [REDACTED] case was assigned and identity of the Agent who wrote letter to ASU.

Review of the file reflects information requested as set forth in attached schedule.

This information was telephonically furnished supervisor [REDACTED] 7/25/75.

b6
b7C

① - Phoenix

RS/rfd
(1) *[Signature]*



5010-110

105-2683-73

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 29 1975	
FBI - PHOENIX	

[Signature]

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Document	Dictator	who Signed out	Assigned
Re let to B 5/31/68	R.P. Peters		Paul Taylor
let 7/1/68	Paul Taylor		"
let 10/1/68	Paul Taylor	Paul Taylor	"
let 10/2/68	Paul Taylor	Paul L. Fournier	"
encl LHM (encl) "SWP" 2/16/68	Paul Taylor	Paul Taylor?	"
let 1/6/69	Paul Taylor	Paul L. Fournier	"
let 3/31/70		Paul H. Field	
AT 4/7/70 encl Anonymous let.	WKB	Paul H. Field	
let 5/12/70			
let 6/30/70			
Case Agent	Paul & Taylor to 3/6/70 then		
Who Wrote Anonymous Letter			

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b7C

b6
b7C

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b7C

b6
b7C

F B I

Date: 4/27/76

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE NITEL
(Precedence)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698-38-1)
FROM: SAC, PHOENIX (105-2683) (ONE PAGE) (RUC)
COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT (NL-21); BUDED: MAY 3, 1976.

RE BUREAU TELETYPE APRIL 27, 1976 AND PHOENIX LETTER TO
BUREAU MAY 31, 1968 AND BUREAU LETTER TO PHOENIX JUNE 11, 1968.

NO EVIDENCE LOCATED FOLLOWING FILE REVIEW THAT ANY
INFORMATION WAS ACTUALLY FURNISHED TO [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ARIZONA CONCERNING [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BASED ON REVIEW OF CAPTIONED FILE AND INDIVIDUAL
CASE FILES ON [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED] MATTER WAS MERELY A PROPOSAL AND
NEVER EXECUTED BY PHOENIX DIVISION.

END.

DESTRUCTION DATE 4/27/86
INITIAL E
RETAIN E
JUSTIFICATION E

① - Phoenix

SDE/rfd
(1) M

Classified SECRET
Serialized 2113
Indexed 2113
Filed 2113

105-2683-714

Approved: SE
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

850/P
JPL

NR021 WA CODE

5:05PM NITEL 04/27/76 MDP

TO PHOENIX (105-2683)

FROM DIRECTOR (100-449698-38-1)

COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT (NL-21); BUDED MAY 3, 1976.

REPXLET TO BUREAU MAY 31, 1968 AND BUREAU LETTER TO PX
JUNE 11, 1968.

A SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
IS CONDUCTING A SURVEY OF A NUMBER OF OUR DISCONTINUED
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS). THE PURPOSE OF
THE DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW IS TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER OR NOT CERTAIN
TARGETS SHOULD BE NOTIFIED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE COINTELPRO
ACTIONS WHICH WERE CONDUCTED AGAINST THEM. THE COMMITTEE,
AS A RESULT OF A PRELIMINARY REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS ACTIONS IN
THE COINTELPRO NOTIFICATION PROGRAM, HAS REQUESTED THE
FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BE OBTAINED FROM YOUR OFFICE.

b6
b7c

REFERENCED LETTERS REFER TO FURNISHING PUBLIC SOURCE
MATERIAL REGARDING [REDACTED] AND [REDACTED]

THE ABOVE COMMITTEE DESIRES TO BE ADVISED IF INFORMATION

100-5952*

500-6189-*
440-1156 no change
66-1425 A-5
nothing

DO NOT DESTROY - PENDING LITIGATION

105-2683-75

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 27 1976	
FBI - PHOENIX	

PAGE TWO

WAS ACTUALLY FURNISHED [REDACTED] AND WAS THIS INFORMATION
UTILIZED BY [REDACTED] THE COMMITTEE ALSO DESIRES TO BE -
ADVISED AS TO EXACTLY WHAT INFORMATION WAS FURNISHED TO THE

b6
b7c

[REDACTED]
PHOENIX SUBMIT TELETYPE, NOTING BUREAU DEADLINE,
MAY 3, 1976.

USE THE ABOVE CAPTION, INCLUDING THE REFERENCE NUMBER,
WHEN RESPONDING TO THIS COMMUNICATION. INSURE ALL
CORRESPONDENCE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS MATTER IS DESIGNATED
FOR THE FIELD OFFICE FILE ON THE APPROPRIATE COINTELPRO ONLY.
YOU SHOULD LIMIT THE INQUIRIES TO FIELD OFFICE FILES AND NO
ACTIVE INVESTIGATION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.

END

DNS FBI PX CLR FOR ONE AND TKS

b6
b7C

Cointelpro materials
re: [redacted] are
returned for your files.

*We appreciate your
help on this matter.*

b6
b7C

Thank,

*Re 105-2683
Serials 4, 6, 8, & 14
submitted & returned
to file this date
1/25/77 yfd*

FBI

105-2683-76

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 25 1977	
FBI - PHOENIX	

Routing Slip
FD-4 (Rev. 3-1-73)

Date 12/3/76

To: ☒ Director

Att.: SUP SA [redacted] LE

Title PRIVACY ACT APPEAL

☐ SAC _____

☐ ASAC _____

☐ Supv. _____

☐ Agent _____

☐ SE _____

☐ SC _____

☐ CC _____

☐ Steno _____

☐ Clerk _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 03-29-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

RE: _____

☐ Rotor #: _____

ACTION DESIRED

☐ Acknowledge

☐ Assign _____ Reassign _____

☐ Bring file

☐ Call me

☐ Correct

☐ Deadline _____

☐ Deadline passed

☐ Delinquent

☐ Discontinue

☐ Expedite

☐ File

☒ For information

☐ Handle

☐ Initial & return

☐ Leads need attention

☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken.

☐ Open Case

☐ Prepare lead cards

☐ Prepare tickler

☐ Return assignment card

☐ Return file

☐ Search and return

☐ See me

☐ Serial # _____

☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return

☐ Send to _____

☐ Submit new charge out

☐ Submit report by _____

☐ Type

SAT L. ANTHONY WHITE

See reverse side

Office PHOENIX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 74

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